Chapter 7. The Presidio Forest

When the U.S. Army first occupied the Presidio of San Francisco in 1847, the military reservation consisted mostly of sandy hills. While grasses and wild flowers flourished during the rainy seasons, drifting sand remained omnipresent. When the Sixth U.S. Army marched out the Lombard Street gate for the last time 148 years later in 1995, it left behind a mature forest that enhanced the beauty and the landscape of the ancient army post. This successful accomplishment was due to such men as Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell, Maj. William Jones, Maj. William Harts, William Hall of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, John McLaren from the city of San Francisco, and countless others. Their foresight and effort, in addition to the magnificent setting, provided the Army, the community, and the nation with one of the most beautiful and historic landscapes to be found.

The U.S. Army had paid little attention to the greening of the large Presidio reservation prior to the arrival of the Division of the Pacific headquarters in 1878. Most of the reservation consisted of grass-covered sand hills. Cattle and horses grazed the treeless hills and dales while strong winds from the ocean brought drifting sand. The annual rainy season, however, produced acres of grasses and wildflowers:

> The surface of the hills present at the present time a most refreshing appearance, covered with verdure and brilliant with the various tints of the wild flowers, with which they are studded in all directions....And then the red, luscious strawberries in the vicinity of the Fort, peeping up from the dark green leaves, relieved by the white fragrant blossoms, giving promise of more anon.[1]

The early commanding officers made some improvements in the vicinity of the main post. Ornamental trees and flower beds graced officers' row. A decorative "alameda," an oval of shrubs and flowers, marked the area near the bachelor officers' quarters. Rows of lacquered cannon balls outlined roads and paths. But not until the arrivals of Generals Irvin McDowell and John Schofield in the late 1870s and early 1880s and their staff engineer, Maj. William A. Jones, was a true landscaping program developed.

General McDowell had a reputation for improving the appearance of military reservations but it has been difficult to identify correspondence on the subject of landscaping that bore his signature. His successors, however, gave him credit for expending much energy toward improving the Presidio and undertaking tree planting to a limited extent. He received credit,

Panoramic view of the Presidio of San Francisco from the east, circa 1875. The post of San Jose (Fort Mason) is on the right. Sand hills are covered with only grasses. *Collection of Col. Milton B. Halsey.*

too, for encouraging the development of the city's Arguello Boulevard, the broad avenue leading from the Presidio's Arguello Gate to the northeast entrance to Golden Gate Park — two entrances that later would later be enhanced with stone ornament. His interest in landscape planning was further manifested by his becoming a San Francisco park commissioner after his retirement from the U.S. Army.[2]

One of his staff officers, Maj. William A. Jones, Engineers, drafted a forest scheme after McDowell had retired from the Army and was living at San Francisco. Jones remained on the division staff when Major General Schofield returned to California to succeed McDowell as division commander, and it was during this time, 1883, that Jones wrote his now-famous plan for a Presidio forest. In his personnel records Jones described himself as being experienced in "Landscape Engineering and Forestry." Concerning the Presidio, he wrote, "The main idea is, to crown the ridges, border the boundary fences, and cover the areas of sand and marsh waste with a forest that will generally seem continuous, and thus appear immensely larger than it really is. By leaving the valleys uncovered or with a scattering fringe of trees along the streams, the contrast of height will be strengthened....In order to make the contrast from the city seem as great as possible, and indirectly accentuate the idea of the power of Government, I have [in the plan] surrounded all the entrances with dense masses of wood."

To gather support for his concepts, Jones sent copies of his plan to members of Congress and to leading citizens of San Francisco. A typical response, perhaps, came from William Alvord,

Beginnings of the 1880s tree planting inspired by Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell and his staff engineer, Maj. W. A. Jones. Officers' row is in the distance. Presidio hills are still treeless. View to the west in 1882, the year General McDowell retired. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Bank of California: "every officer stationed there and every citizen of this City, should do all they can to carry out your excellent suggestion. When I meet Members of Congress I shall urge them to favor liberal annual appropriations for that purpose." U.S. Representative John Colburn, chairman of the House Military Committee, responded eloquently to Jones, saying that the Presidio "must give you an opportunity to produce the most charming effects, which will prove to be a blessing to San Francisco and her visitors for hundreds of years after you are gone."[3]

Jones was transferred from San Francisco without seeing the implementation of his scheme. Years later, however, when he learned of plans to improve the Presidio forest, he wrote at length and in a less imperious tone giving advice. He called this essay, "Suggestions in the matter of parking the U.S. military reservation of the Presidio of San Francisco":

> **First Avenue (Arguello) Entrance**[4]
>
> Clear away an opening with curved borders inside the gate, displaying grass and flowers. Thin out the trees along the border and fill in with a good many flowering peach trees and first in front of them a fringe of snowballs and lilacs. Since the wet season is in the Spring and early Summer trees and shrubs that flower during that season

should be established at first and such later bloomers as will flourish will have to be determined by experiment.

Fill in the space on right hand side of the road after entering with a dense growth of eucalyptus, so as to make the first part of the drive entering the reservation dark and somber. This will conduce to a feeling of awe which will suddenly be contrasted strongly with a magnificent view of the Presidio, with the Bay and Mountains beyond. The effect of this view will be heightened by the contrast so simply effected.

To the right of this entrance as you enter, along the reservation boundary leave the trees as they are; except to thin them out so as to develop a graceful growth of individual trees, and other trees affording color contrasts by their foliage should be introduced.

Central Avenue (Presidio Boulevard) Entrance

Abandon the straight reach of road leading in at this entrance as far as its junction with the curved road on the left. Head the entrance road on a curve to the left to join this curved road, and treat the entrance, substantially as indicated for the First Avenue entrance, using for flowering trees: Pyrus floribunda (flowering apple), and for shrubs: Spirea, Forsythia fortuneie, and Lilacs.

Then preceding along the entrance road, cut away all the trees in front of the sharp bend so as to suddenly display the view of the Presidio and the Bay. All trees along the road between this point and the Presidio, and all trees in front of the Presidio to be removed, and the area treated with grass, wild flowers, and with scattering clumps of shrubbery at favorable points. For this shrubbery use: Lilacs, Forsythia fortuneie, Snowballs, Weigela rosea, Spirea, California privet (for filling out clumps), Japan maples, Pink Hydrangea pamculata, if they will grow. Get every variety of lupine in color that will be found and plant single colors in great masses on the ridges of the grassy slopes.

Eastern Boundary

Continue to supply new trees.

Quarry

(Probably the quarry just inside the Lombard gate.) A mass of California poppies all over the slopes above and near the crest. Wichuriana roses and other flowering trailers along the crest of the quarry to trail down over the face of the rocks.

Trees on South Ridge of the Presidio

Modify this place by removing all but the handsomest eucalyptus and replace with flowering trees. Put in a great many double flowering peach, with scattering crab apples and weeping cherries.

In Front of the Presidio

Treat the slopes on each side of the little stream with grass. Along either side of the stream use great quantities of Calla lilies, and Japan Iris in masses showing single colors. A great lot of hardy Azaleas and Rhododendrons in two red and pink colors, one color on either side of the viaduct.

Road from Presidio to Fort Point

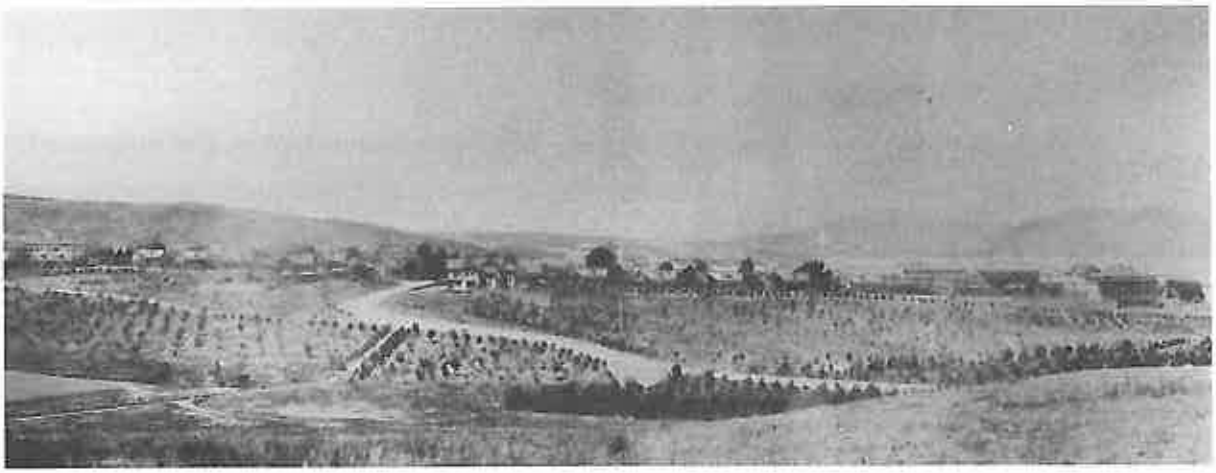
On the Bay side of the road clear away all trees and on the other side thin out the eucalyptus and plant trees of light colored foliage, and such flowering trees as will not mind the shade.

In the Cemetery

Plant clumps of weeping cherry, weeping birch, weeping willow. Thin out the trees bordering the cemetery and fill in with dogwood, pyrus floribunda, and crabapples, in large quantities. On the great slopes which are displayed on the approach to Fort Point develop grass and wild flowers, lupine, and California poppies in great masses. Below the road and out upon the marsh: Calla lilies, Japan iris, German iris, and flowering flags, in large quantities.

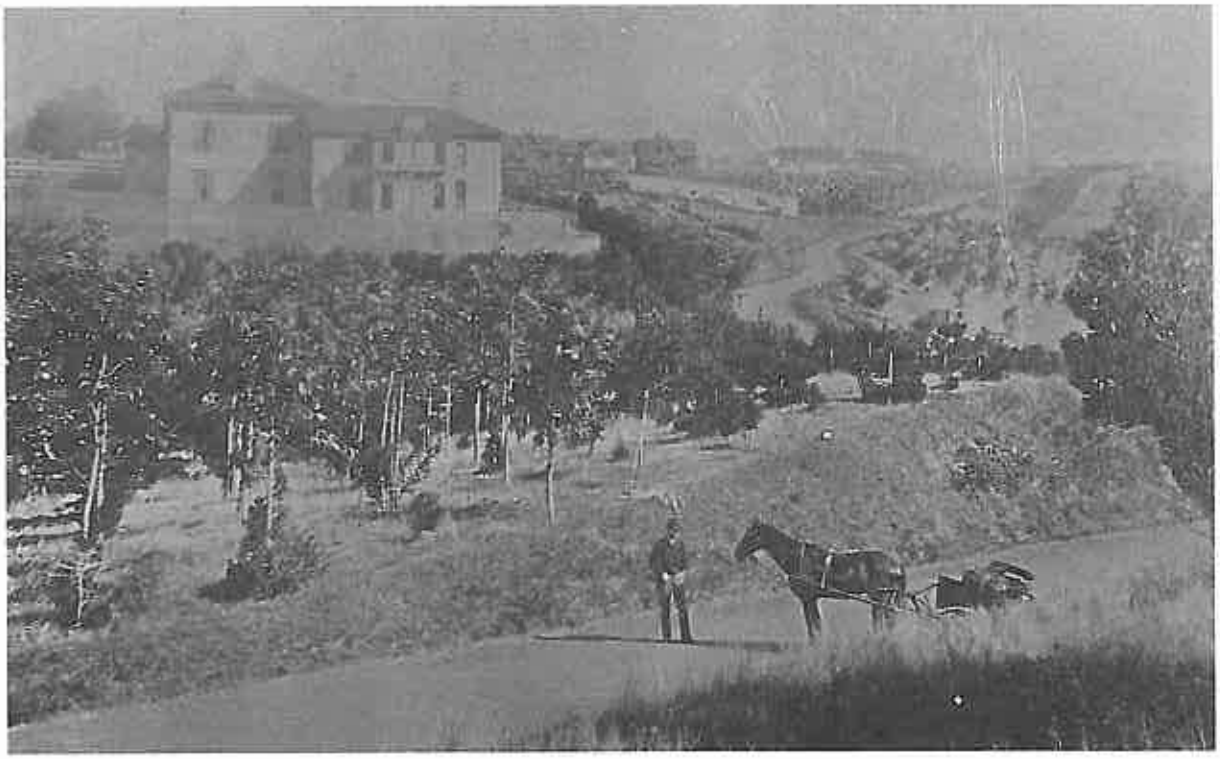
Everywhere

Thin out the eucalyptus extensively so as to give the handsomest specimens a good chance to develop and also to make room for trees of different form and shades of foliage. Introduce extensively the great white flowering dogwood of California, also Acacias (in variety) and large evergreens: Horse chestnut, English walnut, Butternut,



Above: Beginnings of the Presidio forest, circa 1887. General McDowell retired in 1882 but his ideas on beautification lived on. Bachelor officers' quarters entrance is on the left; post hospital, 2, is at the extreme right. View to the north. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Below: Young trees south of officers' row, main post, probably Barnard Avenue in the foreground. Bachelor officers' quarters are in the background. View to the north. Photograph, 1880s. *U.S. Army Military History Institute.*



> Elms, Redwood, Sequoia gigantea, Oregon fir and cedar, Chestnut, Gum, Liriodendron, Oriental plane, Kentucky coffee tree, Oaks, Spruce, etc.
>
> Leave the sand dune just as it is (this sand dune is shown on Harts's 1907 map as northwest of Rob Hill).
>
> **Glades**
> These are laid out among the great tree masses. Cover the openings with grass and assorted flowers. Along the borders of these openings place great masses of dogwood, pyrus floribunda, double flowering peach and cherry, crab apple, and a few Japanese maples and small trees of light colored foliage.
>
> At all sorts of favorable places where the roads lead through the dense woods, introduce masses of color by means of flowering trees and shrubs.
>
> **General**
> The kind of verdure and flowers that can be developed will depend upon whether or not water can be supplied for irrigation. I have assumed that it could not.

The *Alta California* reporter visited the Presidio again in 1884 and again found the environment agreeable:

> The Presidio grounds are finely laid out, affording excellent promenades, which are visited by many city residents....From the car depot a broad well-kept avenue leads up the slight ascent to the [main post]....All about the residence quarters shade trees and cultivated flowers contribute to make the place beautiful, and in every directions cleanly care is evidenced. The main roads are broad and well conditioned for driving, while between them, leading conveniently to the...business part...are ornamental foot walks, marked by inviting resting places amid flowers and shrubs. The border lines are unique enough with their long rows of half-buried cannon balls.[5]

The earliest recording of the mass planting of trees on the Presidio occurred during the celebration of California's first Arbor Day late in 1886. School children planted about 3,000 tree slips that mining magnate Adolph Sutro had donated. Newspaper accounts indicated that the area planted lay on the slope southeast of the main post in the vicinity of Lovers Lane. They did not indicate the varieties of the slips.[6]

At the start of the 1890s, grazing cattle — cows belonging to military families and to civilians having permits — continued to be part of the scene. Army horses and mules, whether artillery, cavalry, or quartermaster, grazed when practical. In 1891 a new arrangement called for a civilian to manage 25 acres of garden "at points" not interfering with military functions. The commander hoped that the crops would supply the garrison with vegetables the year round.[7]

Congress finally made an appropriation for the improvement of the Presidio, including the planting of trees, in 1889. U.S. Senator Leland Stanford introduced an amendment to the appropriations bill calling for $38,000 for roads and walks leading to the national cemetery, planting trees and shrubs, fencing, and for a roadway between Fort Mason and the Presidio. The tree contractor, L. W. H. Green, requested permission to house his laborers and horses at the abandoned Fort Point, but was refused because this would establish a bad precedent. The annual report of the secretary of war for 1892 listed the projects that the $38,000 had funded. A balance of $8,700 remained on the books. In addition a second appropriation of $10,000 in 1891 furthered the effort. As for trees:

A contract for 50,000 trees was completed:

Building a reservoir	$650
Final payment for trees	1,375
Cultivating young trees, fences	654
Powder for blasting	2
Irrigation system	228
Insect control	3
Pruning shears, etc.	5

The 1891 appropriation provided for the planting of 105,475 additional trees:

Eucalyptus	51,290
Acacia	13,433
Cypress	19,500
Pine	19,860
Bamboo	1,242
Ceanothus	100
Washingtonia	50

Of these, the eucalyptus had been raised in the Presidio's own nursery.[8] The Golden Gate Park and Mr. Green donated 2,393 trees. The remainder were purchased under contract.

Almost 8,000 trees (pine, acacia, and cypress) replaced losses from earlier, undocumented plantings.

As for distribution, 50 native trees (Washingtonia gigantea or Calaveras big tree) were planted in small groups of two or three in the space southwest of the post reservoir and enclosed by the road leading from the reservoir to McDowell (later, Lincoln) Avenue (at that time a reservoir stood south of the south end of the parade ground, but the description remains unclear). Along the bluffs on the western part of the reservation, 94 enclosed acres supported almost 96,000 trees consisting of eucalyptus, cypress, pine, and acacia. The report further stated that 500 trees of extra size — 4 feet high — had been planted in conspicuous places to replace trees that had been accidentally destroyed. The bamboo was placed in the west near the tules (lower Presidio or Mountain Lake). As for the nursery it had a new stock of 30,000 eucalyptus for the next planting.

Expenditures of the $10,000

Purchase of trees	$1,610
Plowing and harrowing	956
Cultivating trees, 1891 and 1892	1,585
Planting 103,423 trees at 2 1/2¢ each	2,586
Labor (cultivating young trees, building fences, digging firebreaks)	1,271
Lumber for fencing	520
Wire and staples	207
Repairing windmill	14
	8,749
Unexpended	1,251
Total	**$10,000**

On November 7, 1892, the division quartermaster, Maj. J. H. Lord, proudly pronounced that the number of trees planted on the Presidio came to 329,975. The post commander upped the figure to 350,000.[9]

The post commander at this time was Col. William Montrose Graham, a second generation officer and a veteran of the Civil War, "famous in the army for his devotion to the minutiae of army regulations."[10] In a long letter in December 1892 Graham fired his first volley against tree planting at the Presidio:

> The reservation has 1380 acres, of which 96 acres are in the garrison proper. About 150 acres are in marsh land. About 75 acres are used by the Treasury Department. And the remainder is dry rolling ground well suited for the handling of troops. Of this about 400 acres have been planted to trees or are now being planted. These areas are protected with barbed wire fences. The space available is greatly reduced for drill.
>
> Another evil arising from the extensive tree planting and which is only beginning to be felt, as the earlier plantings are attaining considerable size, is the dense thickets that are being formed, which makes shelters and secure hiding places for the tramps that infest the reservation.[11]

Several months later Graham had to explain to higher headquarters damage caused to trees. He admitted that cows had eaten the leaves off acacia trees but, he explained, the trees had not died and the leaves would grow back. As to the four eucalyptus trees that had been cut down, he had authorized the Union Telegraph Company to cut them because they interfered with the telegraph line being installed. His letter was not insolent, nor was it apologetic.[12]

Colonel Graham warmed to this subject early in 1894. He wrote that because of the large areas densely covered with trees and shrubs, bodies of troops, mounted or dismounted, were prevented passage. Also, dangerous characters hiding in the thickets could pounce on innocent persons, then escape. He did not think any more trees should be planted and that thinning should take place. If, however, the commanding general wished to plant more trees, he would cooperate.[13]

No sooner had Graham penned this letter, than the depot quartermaster in San Francisco announced that he would plant trees on the "sand spit" in the southwest corner of the reservation. Trees continued to be the colonel's burden. On one occasion he had to post a mounted patrol to keep people from stealing newly planted trees. Then there was the matter of barbed wire. Twice Graham complained that the wire that protected the trees had injured government horses and that the groves hindered the proper instruction of the cavalry. The Department of California responded by saying that the planting of trees was not inimical to the military service, but that any excess fencing would be taken up. Graham then attempted to prevent a fence being erected around the tree nursery but relented when the depot quartermaster promised not to use barbed wire.[14]

A new issue cropped up in the summer of 1895 when a contractor asked permission to remove earth from the area east of Mountain Lake. Graham responded with a resounding no.

The Presidio forest still expanding, circa 1890s. *National Archives photograph.*

The Army had brought that earth over from Angel Island during General McDowell's regime and that area was essential to the military function of the post as it was needed for drill purposes.[15]

The Graham-vs.-tree struggle reached a climax during the colonel's last year as the Presidio commander, 1895–1896. The *San Francisco Examiner* reported in August 1895 that the Quartermaster Department had advertised for 60,000 young Monterey pines for planting in 1896 in a 40-acre parcel along the western borders of the Presidio reservation. In November 1895 Graham asked his adjutant to investigate why earth was being removed in the vicinity of Mountain Lake. The adjutant learned that the soil was to be given to Golden Gate Park in return for trees and shrubs to be planted in the same area. (This may have been an arrangement by the depot quartermaster, Lt. Col. James G. C. Lee.) Graham's immediate response was to prohibit such removal, there or any place else on the reserve.

The depot quartermaster quickly responded. He said that the quartermaster general of the Army had authorized the planting of trees in the whole southwest portion of the Presidio

reservation, embracing the "sand spit" and the ground south of that to Lobos Creek. Graham objected strongly to additional planting. The garrison, he said, was large and would become larger. Space must be available for drill and battle exercises and the only terrain available was that on the south, the southeast, and the southwest: "It is urgently recommended that the planting of more trees be prohibited by the proper *military* authorities." Further, all fencing should be removed. The only livestock now on the reserve belonged to military families and grazing was confined to the swamp area in the lower Presidio and under the control of herd guards.[16]

Apparently the quartermaster proceeded to prepare the ground for planting. And apparently the commander of the Presidio's cavalry squadron, Lt. Col. S. B. M. Young, soon to be the first modern chief of staff† of the U.S. Army, ordered or allowed his men to ride over the newly prepared ground. The depot quartermaster heard that the Presidio's cavalry had been drilling in the area, injuring the young trees recently planted there. He asked if the commanding officer directed the drilling. Graham ordered Young to investigate. Young reported that the quartermaster was plowing the area that was used for drills and asked Graham to take steps to preserve it for military purposes. At that point, the commander of the Department of California, Brig. Gen. James W. Forsyth, entered the fray. He issued an order directing no interference with the operations of the depot quartermaster in connection with tree planting and a suspension of any cavalry drills that might interfere.[17]

The secretary of war summed it all up in his annual report for 1896. He announced that the planting of trees in the southwest portion of the Presidio that had begun in December 1895, suspended in February 1896, and resumed in March had been completed. The Army had removed the trees from 26 acres on the "flat" and sowed it in grass. Purchased during the year: 30,101 Monterey pine, 6,800 Oregon pine, and 541 redwood. Raised in the tree nursery from seed: 51,700 cypress and 25,179 eucalyptus. Of all these, 32,746 pine, 15,250 cypress, 1,820 eucalyptus, and 541 redwood had been set out in the southwest corner of the reservation along portions of a new road connecting McDowell Avenue (Washington and Arguello boulevards) with First Avenue (Arguello Boulevard), along the margin of Mountain Lake, near the Marine Hospital fence, and along the fence "up" Lyon Street. About 1,000 trees had been set out around the new mortar batteries on the Fort Point bluffs (Batteries Howe and Arthur Wagner). About 17,000 eucalyptus, 20,000 cypress, and 1,500 Oregon pine remained in the nursery.[18]

The following fiscal year, 1896–1897, saw greatly diminished activity in tree planting. The annual report stated that only 1,290 pine, 20,900 cypress, 20,760 eucalyptus, and 50 acacia had been planted, and they only to fill spaces where trees had died. The cost amounted to $803. A citizen had requested the removal of certain trees (he lived near the southern boundaries and the trees had impeded his view), and the department commander authorized the Presidio commander to use his discretion in such cases.[19]

In 1896 Lt. Col. S. B. M. Young's cavalry had trampled newly planted trees at the Presidio. In 1901 Major General Young commanded the Department of California and held a much different view on the beautification of the reservation, "The period has arrived when the Presidio Reservation should be adjusted to a systematic and permanent plan of improvement." He observed that attention to the natural beauties of scenery would make the reservation more attractive to residents and visitors alike. Young recommended the appointment of a board of officers to consider such matters and the employment of a "landscape engineer." He discussed these ideas with Gifford Pinchot, the chief of the Division of Forestry of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, who offered full cooperation and the services of an engineer.[20]

The attitude at the Presidio had also changed. The commanding officer in the early 1900s, Col. Jacob B. Rawles, Artillery Corps, took a firm approach in the preservation of the forest, "The cutting down, trimming, or in any way mutilating trees or shrubs on the Presidio Reservation is forbidden. Whenever trimming or cutting of any kind is to be done the Commanding Officer alone will order it." About this time the commanding officer of the new general hospital at the Presidio asked Rawles to plant trees around the hospital's officers' quarters.[21]

Forester Pinchot made good on his promise to send an expert to the Presidio in 1902. William L. Hall, the chief of the Division of Forest Extension, made a thorough study of the reserve that fall and prepared a "Plan for the Improvement and Extension of the Forest."

Originally the reservation had a covering of grass, he wrote, and that was lacking in the southern portion where sand dunes approached from the seashore. Trees now covered 420 acres and were densely crowded. The entire stand required thinning immediately. Hall divided the forest into six areas for discussion:

Description of the Woodlands by Compartments[22]

Compartment I

This tract leads south of Avenue B [Kobbe Avenue], west of Avenue A [Park Boulevard], and northeast of McDowell Avenue [Washington Boulevard], including the triangle at the west end of Avenue B [Kobbe]. This compartment is entirely wooded with the exception of a mortar battery [McKinnon-Stotsenberg], a reservoir toward the center [1469], and the western slope of a high hill [Rob] at the extreme western end of the compartment. Blue gum, *Eucalyptus globulus*, occupies the central and principal part. All around the margin a strip of Monterey Cypress, *Cupressus macrocarpa*, mixed with Monterey Pine, *Pinus radiata*. Occasionally, blocks of acacia have been introduced in the cypress and pine.

The Blue Gum was planted in groups of five, the groups being eighteen to twenty feet apart. Growth has been excellent. Overcrowded and needs thinning. Recommendation — reduce to two to a group. Those removed must be grubbed out, roots and all. Where rows of cypress occur amongst the gums all the cypress should be removed except for an occasional tree. And where one cypress remains, the gums within one rod should be removed.

The pine and cypress around the borders usually stand in alternate rows about five feet apart. Densely crowded. Recommend they be reduced to one quarter of the number. They do not need to be grubbed. The remaining trees should stand ten to fifteen feet apart and pruned to a uniform height of four feet. Wherever acacia rows occur here they should be entirely removed — acacia not adapted to such situations. The trees in the rows next to the road should not be farther apart than ten feet nor closer than eight.

All acacias standing in blocks or clumps should remain without severe thinning or pruning. Whenever one dies or breaks it should be replaced with California Live Oak, *Pittosporum undalatum*, or *Pittosporum tennifolum*.

The only planting recommended for this compartment is at the extreme western end around the old quarry [on Rob Hill] near McDowell Avenue

[Washington]. The rough sides of the quarry should first be smoothed and then planted with clumps of Live Oak and *Tamarix gallica*, the purpose being to screen from the road the rough edges of the quarry. Probably fifty Live Oaks and fifty Tamarix will be needed.

Compartment II

Immediately north of I and enclosed by McDowell Avenue [Lincoln] and Avenue B [Kobbe]. 138 acres. It slopes eastward.

Less than half is wooded, timber being confined to a wide belt bordering Avenue B which forms the southern boundary. The timber is the same as in I, Blue Gum predominating. Needs treatment the same as in I.

All the north part is destitute of trees and is occasionally used as a drill ground by the light artillery. Some soil has been removed for use elsewhere. Some of it should be planted in trees.

1. The absence of trees planted exposes from McDowell Avenue [Lincoln] and for several miles eastward one of the shore batteries of the Winfield Scott Fire Command. Such should not be the case.

2. The slope of this tract, especially on the east side, has started violent erosion in several places.

Recommend four blocks of timber:

Block 1. Beginning at the southeast corner of the mortar battery [Howe–Wagner] it extends eastward to the road and northward along McDowell [Lincoln] to its junction with the road from old Fort Winfield Scott [Long Avenue]. Its average width is 300 feet and the area 14.3 acres. Its purpose is to prevent erosion. Should be planted in Red Gum (*Eucalyptus viminalis*), placing the trees in groups of three, the groups fifteen feet apart. The trees in a group should be planted in a triangle three feet apart. Number of trees required — 8,279. A small group of *Pittosporum undulatum* (1/8 acre) should be planted at the point where McDowell Avenue [Lincoln Boulevard] makes a sharp bend

northward — about 70 plants. The ground should not be plowed. Holes for trees should be two feet across and 1 1/2 feet deep, dug in early winter and left open until rain when trees should be planted.

Block 2. Just across McDowell Avenue [Lincoln Boulevard] from Block 1 and extends from the footpath to the junction with the road to old Fort Scott. The 3.2 acres contain the bluff facing the Bay. The ground is stony. California Live Oak here. Plant in holes sixteen feet apart. About 500 trees.

Block 3. On the west and north sides of McDowell Avenue [Lincoln Boulevard]. 12.4 acres. Purpose, to hide a large battery from view. This block should be Monterey Pine and Monterey Cypress in equal mixture. Trees eight feet apart each way and in rows following the contours of the road. The rows of pine should alternate with the rows of cypress. Trees now standing should remain. Land should first be plowed. 4,200 trees each of pine and cypress.

Block 4. Triangular portion forming a northward projection from the west end of the present timber belt. It extends across the proposed road. 8.6 acres. Soil is dry and hard. Monterey Pine and Monterey Cypress mixed as in 3, above. 2,924 trees of each kind.

[Hall added a Block 5 to Compartment II.]

Block 5. A mortar battery here [Howe–Wagner] has been surrounded by a single row of cypress, outside of which is a palisade fence. The fence should be removed and additional planting added. Monterey Cypress only. Trees eight feet apart each way. One acre. 680 trees.

On the embankment fronting the 10-inch battery [Miller] there should be planted near the base a dense row of *Pittosporum tenufolium* and eight feet above this a dense row of *Tamarix gallica,* to completely cover the face [of the battery or of the covered way, perhaps]. 50 plants of each.

Compartment III

The portion of land in the southwest part of the reservation. It is now planted

to timber and also the portions which should be planted for the protection of the soil. The present stand is mostly Monterey Pine but a few years old and still thin; but it is thick enough. This area is very sandy. Plant the open spaces.

Block 6. On the northeast side of Compartment III between the growth and McDowell Avenue [Washington]. Irregular in shape. From a point in its south end it widens to over 600 feet toward the north. 16.4 acres. Plant entirely in Maritime Pine, *Pinus maritima*, ten feet apart, not in rows but in holes dug with a spade. Plant in winter. If *Pinus maritima* is hard to obtain, use *Pinus halapensis*. 7,130 trees.

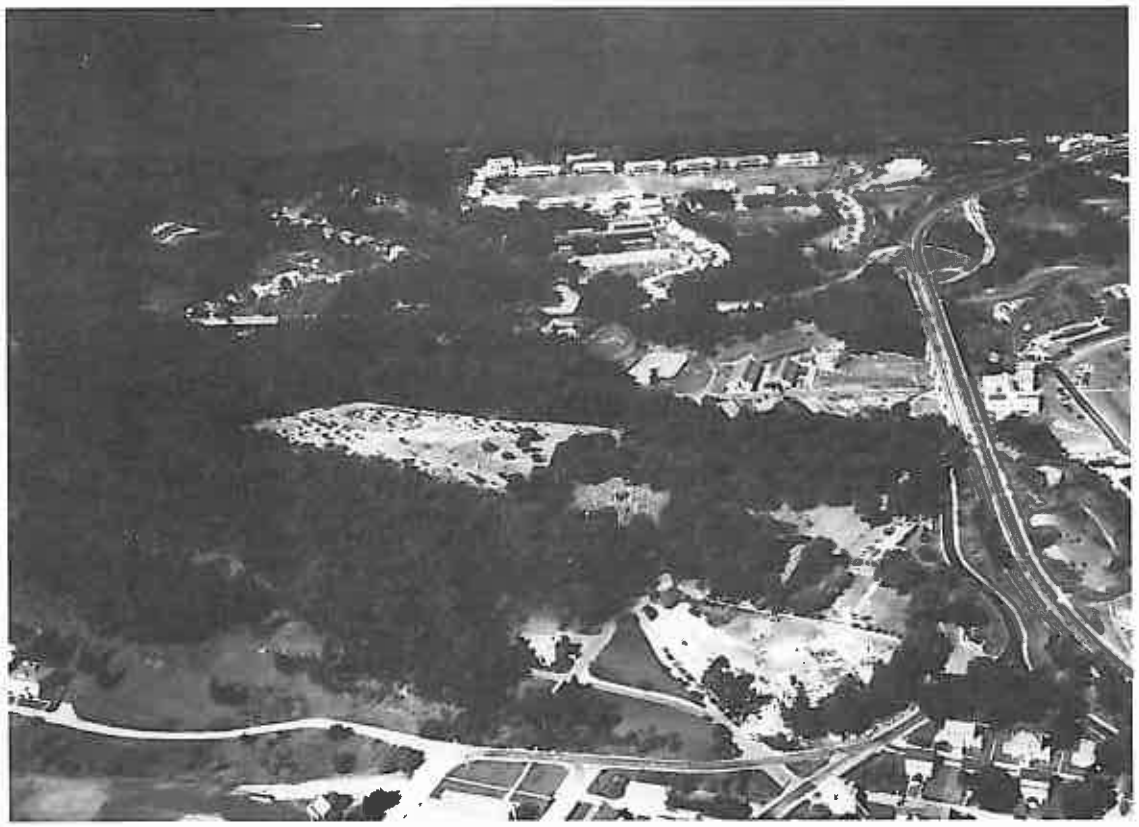
Block 7. Plant a block of timber on the steep western slope just west and north of the office of the Fort Winfield Scott Fire Command. [Structure not identified; block 7 lay west of Lincoln at its junction with Kobbe]. This slope is very steep and with huge gullies. Some of the gullies are directly in front of a large battery [Crosby]. Only the hardiest of trees should be planted. Shore Pine, *Pinus contorta*, eight feet apart. Ten acres. 6,800 trees.

Compartment IV

Bounded by McDowell [Washington and Arguello], Avenue A [Park] on the west, the U.S. Marine Hospital on the southwest, and the City of San Francisco on the south. It includes a belt of trees from 200 to 400 feet wide along McDowell, the golf links, and a sloping unused portion between the golf links and the Marine Hospital grounds.

The timber belt along McDowell is composed principally of cypress, pine, and gum trees. In places the cypress and pine are very thick — four feet by four feet. Three quarters of the trees should be moved at once. The remainder should be pruned to a height of four feet. The gum is planted in groups of five with rows about one rod apart. It won't require thinning for about three years. In a few places the gums stand in rows four feet apart with the trees four feet apart in the rows. Alternate rows and alternate trees should be taken out.

For a distance toward the south end of this group, the gum has been planted on the exposed southwest edge of the belt. It is not adapted to such exposure



The Presidio forest on the ridges south of the developed portions of the reservation, September 1948. The Presidio is at the center of this view. *National Archives photograph.*

and the trees have suffered. A few rows of cypress should be planted bordering on the southwest. The cypress should not be straight lines and should vary as much as the golf ground permits.

Block 8. A narrow belt of cypress [location not identified]. Trees should be eight feet each way. 1.4 acres. 950 trees.

Block 9. A small block of 0.8 acres on the south side of McDowell [Washington] at the north end of the timber belt. Its purpose is to break up the view of the long straight timber line. Monterey pine eight feet by eight feet here. 540 trees required.

Block 10. The unused ground occupying the slope between the golf links and the Marine Hospital reservation, 17 acres. It slopes precipitously toward the southwest and there is much erosion. It has burned over in summers for weed

control. This summer the fire escaped and killed a number of valuable young pines on adjacent land. Purpose, to protect Mountain Lake and to keep the soil from eroding. The slope should be a solid block of timber.

Cypress, pine, and gum needed. The outer ten rows should be Monterey Pine and Monterey cypress, alternating rows. Trees eight feet by eight feet each way. All the interior of the block should be Red Gum, *Eucalyptus viminalis*, three trees in a group, groups sixteen feet apart. 4,080 trees each of pine and cypress and 3,700 trees of Red Gum.

Compartment V

It includes the large triangle formed by McDowell and the straight walk running northwest from the cemetery, all of the cemetery, and the belt of timber lying west of the post buildings and on the north side of McDowell Avenue where it passes the cemetery [on today's maps, roughly the area bordered by the brick barracks on the east, highway 101 on the north, highway 1 on the west, and a line from building 375 (West Infantry Terrace) to building 1300 on the south (East Kobbe Avenue)].

The area north of McDowell [Lincoln] is planted to cypress, pine, gum, and acacia, with cypress predominant. The cypress are greatly crowded and should be thinned to ten feet apart and the remaining trees pruned to four feet. This will reduce the stand by three-quarters. The gum should be thinned within the next two years. The acacia should not be thinned. Where it dies it should be replaced with California Live Oak, *Quercus agrifolia*, *Pittosporum tenuifolium*, and *Pittosporum undulatum*.

The triangle bounded by McDowell [Lincoln] and the straight walk [Highway 101] is principally young growth of pine and cypress. It does not need thinning yet. There is a rank growth of grass — a fire danger. Soil is sandy. A few Monterey Pine should be planted in vacant places along McDowell.

The cemetery tract: Principally Blue Gum planted in groups of five, the groups in straight rows about one rod apart. It will need thinning in two–three years.

On the north side of the new addition to the cemetery the gum trees are too thick. Thin at once to twenty feet between trees.

On the borders of this tract, especially along Avenue A [Park] and McDowell [Lincoln] on the south side there is a fringe of pine and cypress. It needs immediate thinning, ten or twelve feet between trees. The rows of cypress next to the road, however, should not be thinned to more than eight feet between trees. The groups of acacia in the southeast of the compartment should not be thinned. When they die, replace with California Live Oak.

Two small groups of trees should be planted in the southeast part of this compartment to break up the too extensive view over the unsightly slope.

Block 11. It is situated in the bend of McDowell [Lincoln] and is designed to give variety to the view toward the post. Area, 0.9 acres. There should be planted a mixture of Australian Blackwood, *Acacia melanoxylon*, Port Orford Cedar, Lawson Cypress, *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana*, and Incense Cedar, *Libocedrus decurrens*. Trees should be mixed promiscuously about ten feet apart. About 130 each.

Block 12. To be an addition to the belt of trees along the road from the post to the First Avenue entrance [Arguello]. 3.4 acres. Located on the ground that slopes to the north and west. Plant an even mixture of California Live Oak, *Quercus agrifolia*, and English oak, *Q. pedunculata*. Set in holes dug with a spade, sixteen feet apart. 270 trees of each.

Leaving the junction of Avenues A and B [Kobbe and Park] and going east along A [Park] to a point 300 feet distant where it bends sharply south, one is impressed with the fine view that might be obtained north over the Bay were it not for the trees beside the road. These should be cut.

Compartment VI

It occupies the southeast part of the reservation and includes all of the area east of the road from the post to First Avenue gate [Arguello] and all south of the Union Street cable line and the road from the end of the cable line to the hos-

Lush vegetation bordering Presidio Boulevard leading to officer's row on Funston Avenue, circa 1880s-1890s. Buildings renumbered 56, 57 58, and 59. View toward the southwest. *National Archives photograph.*

pital buildings [Lombard]. It contains a number of belts and blocks of timber and a small number of open fields, some of which are campgrounds [Spanish-American War].

The belt of timber along the south border of the reserve, composed principally of Eucalyptus, cypress, Albizzia, and Acacia is of great importance in covering very sandy land. The numerous footpaths should be eliminated.

Eucalyptus need not be thinned for three or four years. The Cypress was planted in groups of five. This was unsuccessful. The survivors should be thinned at once.

Where Albizzia and Acacia have done poorly replace with *Pittosporum undulatum*.

At the Central Avenue entrance [Presidio], the bordering rows of cypress stand four feet apart. They should not be thinned but should be kept sheared on the side to give a hedge-like appearance.

Between the Central Avenue road [Presidio] and the walk [Lovers Lane] the timber is largely Eucalyptus planted in groups of five. No thinning is needed for three years.

The east side of Central Avenue road [Presidio] should be kept densely wooded. Where there are thin areas, plant *Pinus halepensis*. A recent fire did great damage to 1 1/2 acres in this belt. Plant the denuded area with *Pinus halepensis* at once.

In the extreme southeast corner is a small space that is not planted in trees. It should be kept open on account of the fine view of the reserve that is afforded from the street.

On the triangle between the officers' quarters and the [general] hospital where stands the oldest timber on the reserve, all the cypress should be pruned to six feet high and all pine and inferior cypress removed. A good thinning will be required in two to three years. At that time, remove half of both.

Trees bordering the road south of the officers' quarters [Barnard] are too thick. Thin them.

Four additional blocks of timber should be planted in Compartment VI to cover unused slopes to prevent erosion.

Block 13. This small area contains 0.7 acres. It is at the south end of the officers' quarters. It improves the appearance of that area. Plant an irregular mixture of Australian Blackwood, *Acacia melanoxylon*, and Deodar, *Cedrus deodara*, in holes twelve feet apart, 150 trees of each.

Block 14. This is an irregular area of 6.5 acres situated on the bottom and lower slope of one of the ravines that extends into the open space. The purpose of

trees here is to stop the washing of the soil. Plant a pure stand of Monterey Pine except the outer two rows which should be *Pittosporum tenuifolium* — 4,500 trees (4,000 pine and 500 Pittosporum).

Block 15. It is an addition to the northwest corner of the present southside belt. Purpose, to cover an ugly slope and to stop erosion. Its north line should be kept irregular and include the old reservoir site [this *may* have been a dammed pond immediately south of El Polin spring]. Contains 6.6 acres. Plant a pure stand of Red Gum, *Eucalyptus viminalis*. Set in groups of three, groups 161/2 feet apart. Trees in a group to be three feet apart and plant in a triangle. 2,300 trees. On the north side plant two rows of Monterey Cypress trees, eight feet apart — 300 trees.

Block 16. Open ground containing 5.5 acres. It is near the north end of the tract that lies between the walk and road leading to the Central Avenue gate. If this block is not needed for camps or buildings it should be planted. First, plow and cultivate the hard ground. Plant Monterey cypress and Monterey Pine with groups of *Pittosporum tenuifollium* and Lawson Cypress along the border of the walk — 1,900 each of pine and cypress, 25 each of Pittosporum and Lawson.[23]

Maj. Gen. Robert P. Hughes succeeded General Young as commander of the Department of California in 1902, in time for the Hall report. He agreed that tree planting had been done in the past with poor judgment and without an overall plan. He listed the improvements now needed: planting for soil erosion, windbreaks, and the screening of new batteries. He also thought it time to pay attention to tree culture at Fort Mason, Yerba Buena Island, Angel Island, Fort Miley, and Lime Point. The superintendent of San Francisco's parks, John McLaren, had already agreed to supervise the planting of 200,000 trees at Lime Point if an appropriation came through. Hughes, however, did not want each of the posts to be chasing landscape funds. He thought it better to develop an overall plan and funnel the moneys through the department.[24]

The Presidio Board of Officers for improving the reservation met several times in 1903. While its list of work accomplished and recommendations dealt largely with roads, some issues dealt with forestation. Superintendent McLaren had donated the services of B. K. Beattie, an

experienced woodsman and forester, to begin the thinning. A new nursery had been established where 8,000 young trees thrived. Bids had been invited for the removal of fallen timber. The board recommended additional funds for continued thinning and trimming, and for the construction of a hot house for raising plants from seed. During the year the post quartermaster signed an agreement with F. Ludemann to provide $1,200 worth of trees:

5,000 *Eucalyptus viminalis* (manna gum) at $25 per thousand
2,900 *Pinus insignis* (radiata) at $125 per thousand
2,900 *Pinus contorta* (beach pine) at $125 per thousand
2,500 *Pinus maritima* (maritime pine) at $125 per thousand
100 *Cupressus macrocarpa* (Monterey cypress) at $10 per hundred
100 *Acacia latifolia* (broadleaf acacia) at $5 per hundred
100 *Acacia lophanta* at $4 per hundred
100 *Acacia melanosylan* at $4 per hundred
100 *Leptospermum laerigatum* (Australian tea tree) at $7.50 per hundred[25]

Forestry work continued in 1904. At its annual meeting the Board of Officers repeated its 1903 recommendations, noting the work that had been accomplished. New ideas called for enlarging the tree nursery (in Tennessee Hollow then or later), planting trees around Mountain Lake to protect the water supply, employing a permanent force of four foresters, and paying careful attention to the Hall report and Colonel Jones' letter, both of 1902. The board also recommended removal of a row of cypress along the road in front of the national cemetery as the trees made the road damp and muddy.

During the year the Presidio received appropriations amounting to at least $21,300 for beautification. Laborers dug holes for trees in Hall's blocks 1, 3, 4, 5, and planted trees in blocks 1, 3, 6, 7, and 10. Despite Hall's warning on acacias, the post commander ordered two rows of them planted along the road to the Presidio wharf. A work force of 22 laborers continued the task of thinning and trimming.[26]

Col. Charles Morris of the Artillery Corps, commanding the Presidio in 1905, headed a letter "President, Forestry Board," which presumably proclaimed a new title for the Board of Officers. The 1906 earthquake resulted in a suspension of further beautification. Not until that autumn did the Department of California return to the subject, emphasizing the planting of trees at military posts in the Bay Area other than at the Presidio. Part of this interest may have had its origins in a letter a San Francisco citizen, C. H. Rudolph, wrote saying that the people of that city desired to have trees planted on the islands in the bay; he asked if the War

Department had any objections. The letter reached Washington where the chief of engineers replied that he had no objections providing the Army selected the specific sites. Even then, location was not of supreme importance to the defensive works, because the trees could be removed in case of emergency.[27]

When queried, Colonel Morris said that the Presidio tree nursery could supply about 3,000 young trees and that any quantity could be taken from the wooded areas as they were full of small trees springing up. He warned that planting should not be undertaken until the rainy season started in November. He added that the Presidio's gardener had stressed the need for experienced supervision; planting trees in sandy ground required skill. General Funston upped the figure as to the Presidio's contribution, saying that its nurseries could supply as many as 25,000 trees, adding, "The hundreds of acres of splendid forest on the reservation of the Presidio...which 25 years ago were barren sand hills, show what can be accomplished in this line by intelligent effort."[28]

The Hall and Jones documents had been around for more than three years when U.S. Congressman Julius Kahn introduced a bill calling for an appropriation for the improvement of the Presidio grounds. Colonel Morris, when asked to remark on the bill, disclosed that many of Hall's recommendations had yet to be implemented. Much thinning remained to be done in order for healthy trees to grow. Many thousands of young trees had yet to be planted where Hall had directed, especially in the vicinity of Mountain Lake and to screen the fortifications.[29] Even as the Congress considered military appropriations that year, an army engineer, Maj. William W. Harts, compiled the most important document concerning the development of the Presidio of San Francisco yet to be penned. Harts completed this work by January 1907, calling it the "Report Upon the Expansion and Development of the Presidio of San Francisco, California." Accompanying it were 14 plates, "Plans for the Re-Arrangement and Development of the U.S. Military Reservation."[30]

Harts' scheme envisioned a greatly enlarged garrison — 20 companies of coast artillery, two regiments of infantry, three batteries of light artillery, a regiment of cavalry, a battalion of engineers, and the general hospital. Such a great size would result in the removal of some trees. It is apparent that he had studied the earlier reports of Hall and Jones as well as the views of the eminent architect D. H. Burnham and Superintendent McLaren at Golden Gate Park. Harts wrote that the Presidio was "a site of great beauty and is probably excelled by no other

military post in the world in the magnificence of its location and its commanding position," adding, "its great natural beauty is seldom appreciated."

Harts credited General McDowell for originating a forestry plan. Succeeding commanders had added trees until in 1907 trees covered a third of the reservation — Harts described mostly eucalyptus, spruce, and pine. (Harts may have meant cypress; there probably were no spruce.) Ridges divided the Presidio into three parts. One ridge running nearly north and south separated the coast artillery batteries from the barracks and quarters of the main post. Running east and west, another ridge separated the first two areas from the portion containing the golf course, Marine Hospital, and target ranges.[31]

He noted that the forest still required thinning. The coastal batteries required screens of cypress, acacia, oak, and pine to hide them from the reservation proper. The bluffs under the batteries needed protection with shore and maritime pine. Live oak could replace acacia everywhere where the latter had died. Madrono and manzanita should border roadways and walks along with magnolia and English and cork elms. Hedges of California privet and box would provide back door screens. At various places Harts would plant camphor trees, Kentucky pepper trees, pittosporum, and black acacia for effect. He did not renew the idea of bamboo for the lower Presidio; rather, Normandy poplars would serve best in that location. Echoing Jones' concepts, Harts said that at each entrance to the reserve there should be clusters of large trees bordered with low, flowering shrubs, "as will give the visitor the impression of entering an inclosure as he passes in." He observed, "this effect has been secured at many places at Golden Gate Park and the effect there may be studied with advantage." Probably influenced by Jones' 1902 letter, Harts recommended the planting of glades in lupine and California poppy. Rose bushes would add to the beauty in the main post area, in sunken gardens along the creek beds, and along winding paths. Harts recommended converting the old quarry near Lombard Street into an open-air theater for athletic events.[32]

Elements from Harts' report soon were adopted by the Army. The most significant of these, the establishment of the independent Fort Winfield Scott coast artillery post, occurred in 1912. While this event did not have a major impact on the Presidio forest, the landscaping of the garrison area contributed to the reservation's beauty. Its first commanding officer published an order in 1912 that set the standards, saying that with the post's magnificent location overlooking the bay and the Golden Gate, with a landscape diversified with trees, ravines, and cliffs, and with a soil and climate capable of growing in winter as well as in summer all kinds

Above: 1923 view of the Presidio showing the dense growth of the forest. *National Archives photograph.*

Below: 1924 view of the Presidio from the east. *National Archives photograph.*

of flowers, there was no reason why the post should not be made one of the most attractive places in the world.

A board of officers had already made specific recommendations for the post. While many of its concerns dealt with lawns, flowers, and a parade ground (not grassed), trees were not ignored. The board recommended planting the area north of the parade ground (the area later occupied by a theater and a chapel) planted in acacia and other low-growing trees and shrubs to aid against erosion — but not so as to obstruct the view nor to interfere with its use as a drill ground. The officers thought that a line of eucalyptus trees should be planted along the road (today's Lincoln Boulevard) in that area to serve as a windbreak. The board also recommended a thinning of the trees in front of the officers' quarters on Kobbe Avenue to provide a view of San Francisco Bay.[33]

That same year planning for an international exposition at San Francisco stimulated the Army into an awareness of the appearance of the bay posts. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson visited San Francisco in September. Afterwards, the commanding general, Arthur Murray, announced that Stimson had authorized general improvements. Fort Mason would become as beautiful as Golden Gate Park. The Presidio would undertake to landscape its roads like boulevards. Two gangs of military prisoners from Alcatraz would further develop the landscape and the roads. And a board of officers would take up the cause by recommending the removal of certain "old" buildings.

The U.S. Congress, however, failed to authorize an appropriation of $1.6 million for these undertakings. A frustrated General Murray said that he had visited a majority of the military posts in the United States and that the Presidio was in the worst condition of any of them by far. The Army's chief of staff, Leonard Wood, who had lived at the Presidio as assistant post surgeon in the early 1890s, told Murray that at that time the Presidio was one of the most beautiful places he had ever seen. He could not believe how run down it had become. Even this ammunition, however, had little influence on the Congress.[34]

The Presidio and Fort Winfield Scott continued to expand their missions as infantry, coast artillery, and headquarters posts into the 1920s and on to World War II. The forest matured. As late as 1932 the U.S. Forest Service marked over 3,000 trees that needed to be removed due to overcrowding. The Army let a contract to the Associated Charities of San Francisco to do the thinning. Memorial trees dotted the landscape here and there. New buildings, such as the

The Presidio Forest, row on row. *NPS photograph by Gordon Chappell, June 1990.*

Presidio's 1939 theater, received extensive landscaping. After World War II improvements continued. The military newspaper *Star Presidian* contained an article in 1964 that described landscape activities underway: removal of overgrown shrubbery, tree pruning, removal of hazardous trees, installation of automatic irrigation systems, and a general landscape program. The article said that Messers Jack Baumgartner served as head gardener, Henry Beaman as the assistant, and George L. Hart, the management agronomist. In 1970, 100 years after the citizens of San Francisco attempted to turn the Presidio into a park, neighboring citizens became upset when the Army cut down some 340 trees to make way for new construction. The Army responded by saying it had planted 3,000 replacements. Further, San Francisco's Mayor Joseph Alioto and Lt. Gen. Stanley Larsen of the Sixth U.S. Army reached an agreement on keeping the Presidio green. In 1972 the Boy Scouts of America contributed to the Presidio's beauty by planting 1,200 coastal redwoods, which, unfortunately, died. The undaunted scouts returned to plant 250 giant sequoia.[35]

More recently, the Army contracted for a management plan for the Presidio forest. This plan called for thinning, regeneration cutting, and new planting. Snags would be left to attract wildlife. While such new species as native oak could be planted, rare and endangered species would remain. Still, some new stands were required to reduce soil erosion and to screen new housing. This plan recorded the existing planting as being:

157 acres of eucalyptus
127 acres of Monterey cypress
32 acres of Monterey pine
and minor acreage of redwood, willow, and oak

Endangered species included *Arctostaphylos hookeri* spp. *ravenii*, *Clarkia franciscana*, and *Plagiobothrys diffusus* (although this last may already have been lost). Rare species noted were *Lessingia germanorum*, *Grindella maritima*, *Hesperolinum congestum*, and *Orthocarpus floribundus*. Since the 1970s, the NPS has contracted for a forest management plan for future years.[36]

And the history of the Presidio forest continues. In 1989 the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that a citizen, Lorenzo Murphy, became upset when some of his neighbors near the reservation had paid for some Presidio trees to be cut in order to improve their views. Protests arose on all sides. After reviewing the situation, the post commander announced that an environmental assessment would be required before any trees could be cut. The Army, however, did not have the funds for this.[37]

Due to the wisdom of General Schofield in 1874 that resulted in a part of the Presidio being a public park, the Presidio forest became a valuable asset to both the civilian and military communities. The integrity of the military reservation as a key to the defenses of San Francisco Bay also was maintained.

Chapter 7 Notes:

1. *Alta California*, May 16, 1850.

2. R. P. Hughes, January 8, 1903, to the War Department, PSF, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Margaret Leech, *Reveille In Washington, 1860–1865* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), p. 449.

3. Jones and Stokes Associates, *Presidio of San Francisco, Forest Management Plan, 1990–2010* (Sacramento, 1990); Alvord, June 27, 1883, to Jones; and Colburn, July 6, 1883, to Jones, both in PSF, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA. Jones' plan or map has not been located. Maj. Gen. R. P. Hughes, January 8, 1903, to adjutant general, PSF, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

4. W. A. Jones, November 27, 1902, Exhibit D, Proceedings of a Board of Officers, PSF, January 12, 1903, General Correspondence, 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA. Jones' station at this time remains unknown. Judging from the above, he probably visited the Presidio not long before writing these suggestions. He retired from the Army with the rank of brigadier general in 1905. The following text is a summary of W. A. Jones' prose.

5. *Daily Alta California*, August 16, 1885.

6. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 28, 1886. Large-scale tree planting occurred at the Presidio before 1886, as is evident in the 1882 photograph in this chapter. Adolph Sutro later served as San Francisco's mayor, 1894–1897. Robert E. Stewart, Jr., and M. F. Stewart, *Adolph Sutro, A Biography* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1962).

7. H. Harris, December 15, 1888, to post quartermaster, Letters Sent, PSF; Orders 321, December 13, 1890, Post Orders, 1890–1891, PSF; Commanding officer, PSF, March 20, 1891, Register of Letters Received 1891, PSF, RG 393, NA.

8. The only clue as to the location of the tree nursery was in an 1895 letter that said it was part of the old post garden in the vicinity of the footpath to the south of the post (perhaps Lovers Lane in Tennessee Hollow). Graham, July 1895, to Depot Quartermaster, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

9. Langdon, February 10, 1890, to Department of California, Letter Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; *San Francisco Chronicle*. February 21, 1889; Secretary of war, *Annual Report 1892*, pp. 406–407; J. H. Lord, November 7, 1892; and Graham, November 5, 1892, to Department of California, PSF, RG 393, NA.

10. Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, A Biography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931), 1:115.

11. Graham, December 22, 1892, to adjutant general, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

12. Department of California, August 14, and Graham, August 16, 1893, Register of Letters Received 1893, PSF, RG 393, NA.

13. Graham, February 6, 1894, to Department of California, Register of Letters Received 1893–1894, PSF, RG 393, NA.

14. Graham, March 30, 1894, Letters Sent; Graham, March 13 and May 22, 1895, to Department of California; Depot Quartermaster, July 23, 1895, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1895, PSF, RG 393, NA.

15. Graham, July 31, 1895, to adjutant general, Register of Letters Received 1895, RG 393, NA. Graham may have known by then that a golf course was being planned for the area.

16. *San Francisco Examiner*, August 2, 1895; J. G. C. Lee, November 6, 1895; Graham, November 11 and 17, 1895, Register of Letters Received 1895–1896, PSF, RG 393, NA. Graham's letter of November 11, contained particularly strong language.

17. J. G. C. Lee, February 4 and 5, 1896; S. B. M. Young, February 4, 1896; Department of California, February 5 and 6, 1896, all in Register of Letters Received 1896, PSF, RG 393, NA. Graham transferred from the Presidio in October 1896. He eventually became a major general of volunteers, retiring from the Army in 1898.

18. Secretary of war, *Annual Report, 1896*, p. 295.

19. Secretary of war, *Annual Report 1897*, p. 367; Department of California, December 22, 1897, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1897–1898, PSF, RG 393, NA.

20. S. B. M. Young, December 31, 1901, to adjutant general, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

21. General Orders, February 5, 1902, Letters Received 1901, Fort W. Scott, OCE, RG 77, NA; Commanding officer, General Hospital, October 28, 1901, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, 1902–1906, RG 393, NA.

22. The following, while not a precise quotation, retains Hall's spelling, capitalization, and the present tense.

23. Hall, November 26, 1902, to B. H. Randolph, General Correspondence, 1890–1914, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

24. R. P. Hughes, January 8, 1903, to adjutant general, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

25. Report of a Board of Officers, Fiscal year 1903, July 25, 1903, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; Articles of Agreement, D. S. Stanley and F. Ludemann, June 2, 1903, General Correspondence 1890–1914, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

26. Morris, December 31, 1903, January 21 and 30 and March 14, 1904, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393; W. Patten, January 31, 1905, to quartermaster general, PSF, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA. The Harts map of 1907 did not show trees leading to the wharf.

27. The department commander, Brig. Gen. Frederick Funston, said he was "thoroughly sympathetic" to the project, but he doubted trees could be grown on Alcatraz. A second citizen letter from the same address bore the signature of P. H. Ruddock.

28. Morris, September 27 and November 1, 1905, and C. H. Rudolph, September 24, 1905, Register of Letters Received, 1905, RG 393, NA; P. H. Ruddock, September 28, 1905, to adjutant general; Funston, November 10 and 11, 1905, to Pacific Division, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

29. Morris, January 22, 1906, to Department of California, Register of Letters Received 1905–1906, PSF, RG 393, NA.

30. W. H. Harts, "Report," General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA. Of the 14 plates, Plate 1, that showed the "present condition" of the Presidio is the most pertinent to this report.

31. When naming the "golf links," Harts wrote, "the portion formerly used as golf links," suggesting that the course was in some sort of abeyance.

32. Harts, "Report," pp. 3–4, 9, 74–79.

33. General Orders 8, July 19, 1912, General Orders 1912–1913, Fort Winfield Scott, RG 393, NA; Proceedings of a Board of Officers, Fort Winfield Scott, General Correspondence 1890–1914, Oquartermaster general, RG 92, NA.

34. *San Francisco Call*, September 25, 1912; Arthur Murray, April 15, 1913, to adjutant general, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

35. *Star Presidian*, July 2, 1964; C. L. Willard, September 12, 1932, to quartermaster general, PSF, GCGF 1922–1935, OQMG, RG 92, NA; F. D. Jones, May 22, 1939, PSF, General Correspondence 1927–1939, OCE, RG 77, NA; *San Francisco Examiner*, November 18, 1970; U.S. Army, *Ecology Trail*, p. 14.

36. Joe R. McBride, *Forest Management Plan for the Presidio and East Fort Baker* (1984); Jones and Stokes Associates, *Presidio of San Francisco, Forest Management Plan, 1990–2010* (Sacramento 1990).

37. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 14, 1989.

Chapter 8. "The Most Enjoyable Station We Ever Had," 1887–1897

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the United States began to emerge as a new world power. Its interests began to expand beyond the continental limits. Soon the Army and Navy would be involved in supporting and protecting new American affairs overseas. The Presidio of San Francisco would become a critically important element in the new arrangements. Its physical plant, ever evolving, underwent many significant changes in this decade before the coming of an international war.

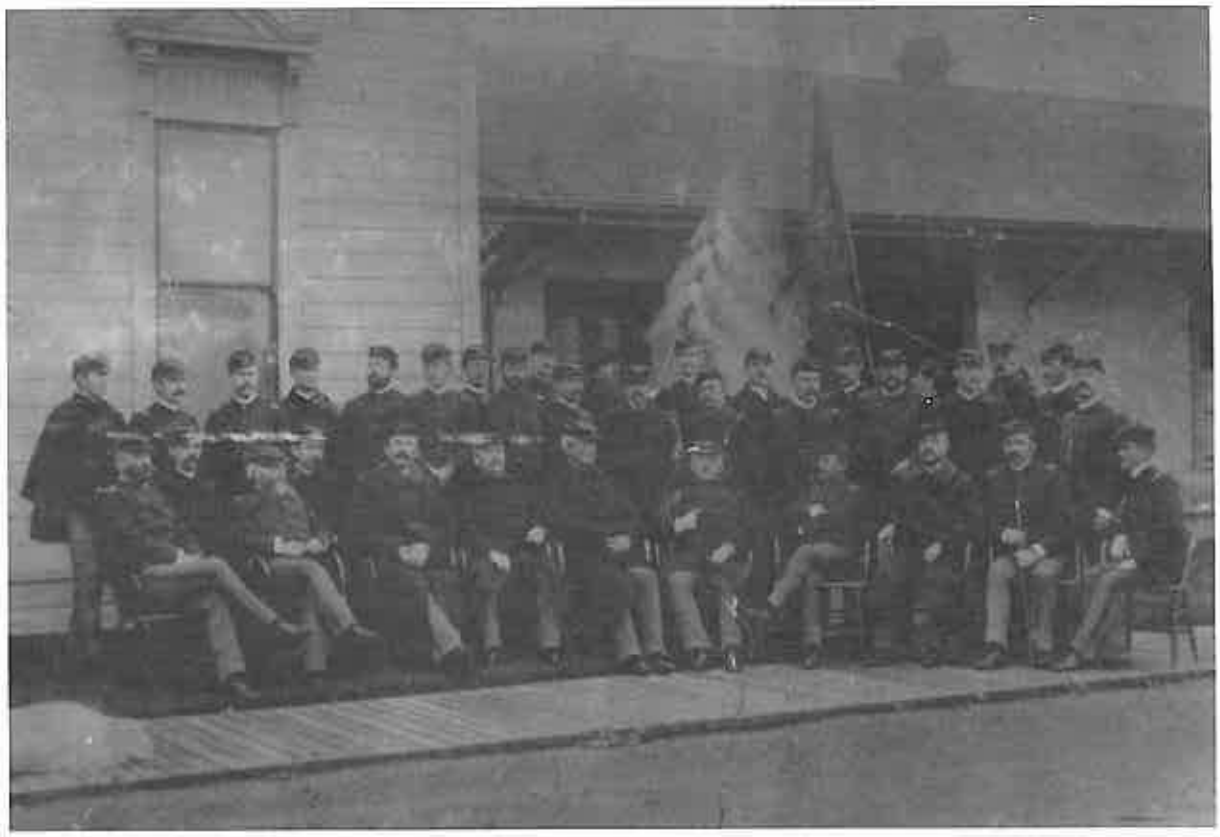
The Commanders

Having failed to have an appropriate office building constructed at the Presidio, the Military Division of the Pacific headquarters moved in 1887 to the Phelan Building in downtown San Francisco, where it remained until the great earthquake of 1906. The commanding general, Oliver O. Howard, reported that the division's new location in downtown San Francisco allowed for greater ease in conducting its public business, as well as greatly benefiting the Presidio, again under the full control of its post commander.[1]

Once again the commanding officer of the Presidio, Lt. Col. William M. Graham, 1st Artillery, took charge of the entire reservation. For the next decade, until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, the Presidio continued to be primarily an artillery post, providing the main coastal defenses, such as they were, for protecting San Francisco Bay. At one time nine artillery companies (batteries) made up the bulk of the garrison.

Two troops of the 2d Cavalry also belonged to the garrison, training in their profession and providing pomp and circumstance to division headquarters, visiting dignitaries, and civic affairs. In 1891 the cavalry received an additional assignment, protecting the Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant national parks. In 1894 the 4th Cavalry Regiment replaced the 2d and the number of troops increased to four for summer duty in the parks.

Toward the end of the decade, some of the artillery batteries dispersed to other Bay Area forts to man the increasing number of modern coastal guns being mounted. By 1897 only four batteries remained at the Presidio. Taking their place at the Presidio, elements of the 1st Infantry Regiment were transferred from Angel Island. For the first time in many years an infantry colonel, William R. Shafter, commanded the Presidio.[2]



A group of artillery and infantry officers in front of the Presidio officers' club, circa 1885-1892. Many wear overcoats with and without capes; some wear capes over service blouses; others wear just the service blouse. Col. William M. Graham, 5th Artillery, was post commander for much of this period and he may be seated in the center, hand in coat. The officer standing sixth from the left bears a striking resemblance to Asst. Surg. Leonard Wood, then at the Presidio and later the dynamic chief of staff, U.S. Army. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Of the seven post commanders during this decade, Colonel Graham served the longest, almost seven years. Possessing a strong personality, resentful of real and imagined military discourtesies, a stickler for the minutiae of army regulations, defender of mistreated animals, and upholder of the dignity of enlisted men, Graham had a great impact on the fortunes of the Presidio garrison.

He entered the U.S. Army with the rank of second lieutenant of artillery in 1855. During the Civil War he participated in the Peninsular campaign and the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg. By the end of the war he held the brevet rank of brigadier general. During his tour at the Presidio, Graham received the rank of colonel, becoming the commander of the 5th Artillery Regiment in 1891. He became a major general of volunteers in the Spanish-American War, 1898, and retired from the Army that year.[3]

Graham temporarily surrendered command of the Presidio in the spring of 1888 when his colonel, Loomis L. Langdon, 1st Artillery, arrived to take over for two years. Graduating from West Point, Lieutenant Langdon joined the 4th Artillery in 1854. He participated in both the Florida Indian Wars and the Civil War. The Presidio tour came toward the end of his career, the colonel retiring in 1894.[4]

Following Graham's second tour, which ended in 1896, Col. William R. Shafter, 1st Infantry, arrived from Angel Island, bringing many of his infantrymen with him. "Pecos Bill" Shafter, vastly overweight, had already made a name for himself fighting Apache Indians in the deserts of southwest Texas. He commanded the Presidio for only a short time, November 1896–February 1897, before receiving a promotion to brigadier general and moving to San Francisco to command the Division of the Pacific and the Department of California. He had been angling for that promotion for some time but the medical officers found his physical condition somewhat lacking. At one point Maj. Gen. Nelson Miles came to his aid, informing the adjutant general, "He has served under my observation for years, and I have seen him bathing in the surf on the Pacific Coast, and am aware that he has varicose veins and am also aware that hundreds of officers are similarly affected, yet this fact did not prevent him from...commanding one of the largest camp[s] of regular troops that has been together for a number of years, at Monterey, Cal."[5]

Shafter left San Francisco temporarily to command American troops in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. He retired from the Army in 1901, settling on his ranch near Bakersfield, California, where he died in 1906. A large marker identifies his resting place in the San Francisco National Cemetery.[6]

Between Shafter and the next permanent commander, Col. Samuel Baldwin Marks Young, 4th Cavalry, commanded the Presidio for two months in 1897. A remarkable cavalry officer, he had enlisted as a private early in the Civil War. By 1865 he was a breveted brigadier general of volunteers. Young saw action against western Indians on several occasions. In Cuba in 1898 he commanded a cavalry brigade. A year later he served in the Philippines. A major general by 1901 he commanded the Department of California. In 1903, promoted to lieutenant general, he was appointed the first modern chief of staff of the U.S. Army. Following Young's retirement in 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him acting superintendent of Yellowstone National Park with the unsuccessful assignment of removing army troops from administering national parks. General Young died in 1924 at Helena, Montana.[7]

When Shafter was promoted to the general officer ranks, Evan Miles succeeded him as colonel of the 1st Infantry and as such commanded the Presidio of San Francisco from May 1897 to March 1898. Miles had received a commission in the Regular Army at the beginning of the Civil War. An infantryman, he received brevet commissions† in that war, in the Nez Perce War of 1877, and in actions at the Umatilla Agency in Oregon in 1878. Promoted to brigadier general of volunteers in the Spanish-American War, Miles retired in 1899 after 38 years of active service.[8]

The Fort and the Community

A conflict in commitments put the Presidio's 1st Artillery Band in an awkward position in the summer of 1888. Earlier, the post commander had promised San Francisco's Bohemian Club that the band would entertain during the weekend of the club's annual "picnic." Now, however, the division commander, General Howard, wished the band to be at the Presidio for some unidentified memorial services that same weekend. While the outcome remains unknown, a wise post commander passed the problem on to a general's aide.[9]

Nelson Miles, "the Brave Peacock," thoroughly enjoyed his time as the Division of the Pacific's commander, 1888–1890, in the midst of which he received his second star. He wrote, "I was intensely interested in the Pacific coast country. I loved the freedom, enterprise, and manly qualities of the splendid type of American citizenship found there." But he found the coastal defenses in a deplorable state. In 1889 he carefully escorted a group of visiting U.S. Senators around the bay on army steamer *General McDowell*. Stopping at the Presidio wharf, the party rode out to Fort Point where Miles made sure it saw the dismantled guns lying everywhere as well as the few rifled guns that were mounted. The *Daily Alta California* reported, "It is well known that General Miles takes great interest in the subject, and...this will enable him to speak with some authority on [armament]."[10]

In his annual report for that year, Miles asked for $500,000 for quarters and barracks on the Pacific coast and $30 million for 573 modern guns and mortars. He pointed out that in the past 15 years the eastern and central portions of the country had received 96 percent of the Army's appropriations, while the Pacific coast, with 25 percent of the Army's strength, had struggled along with only 4 percent. Within a few years of Miles' departure from San Francisco, the U.S. Congress authorized the modernization of the nation's defenses on all coasts, the so-called Endicott era.[11]

Presidio troops paraded in San Francisco on all public occasions. In April 1889 in observance of the 100th anniversary of the United States of America's first presidential elections, first Congress under the Constitution, and President George Washington's inauguration, the Presidio turned out en masse — 5 foot batteries of artillery, two light (mounted) batteries, two companies of infantry, and two troops of cavalry. In May 1891 Presidio soldiers, along with units from Angel and Alcatraz islands, marched in the Memorial Day ceremonies in the city. In January 1894 they participated in the dedication exercises of the Midwinter International Exposition. On another Memorial Day, in 1897, an infantry battalion from the Presidio escorted the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, after warning them to be on time because the troops had to be back in the Presidio by noon.[12]

A steady stream of U.S. government officials made their way to the reservation over the years. These visitors kept the troops busy with spit and polish during April 1891. First came Secretary of the Army Redfield Proctor who inspected the troops. Three weeks later President Benjamin Harrison undertook a similar task:

> On the arrival at and departure from this Post of His Excellency the President of the United States, a salute of 21 guns will be fired by Light Battery F, 5th Artillery.
>
> The assembly of trumpeters for the review will be sounded at 1:15 P.M. Assembly will be at 1:30.
>
> A salute of 21 guns will be fired from Fort Winfield Scott tomorrow the 28th instant in honor of His Excellency the President of the United States as he passes the fort going out about 10:45 A.M. and again when he passes it returning about 1:30 P.M. The salute will be fired by Battery B, 5th Artillery.[13]

Brig. Gen. Adolphus Greely, the famed Arctic explorer now the Army's chief signal officer, visited San Francisco about the same time as the president, taking a room at the Palace Hotel. Apparently he did not visit the Presidio officially and the record is unclear if he made a social visit. Lt. Gen. John Schofield, who had commanded the Pacific Division years earlier and was now commanding general of the U.S. Army, returned to California in the summer of 1891. An aide published a notice that the general would set aside a time at which the Presidio officers could pay their respects in a body. Apparently Schofield retained fond memories of the Presidio for he returned again in 1894 and 1895, the latter just before his retirement. This time a cavalry squadron met him at the Central (Presidio) Avenue gate and escorted him to a reviewing stand on the cavalry drill field east of the main post.[14]

Troops observed the death of former President Rutherford B. Hayes in January 1893 with a parade. The 8-inch guns fired a dawn salute of 13 guns; guns fired at intervals of 30 minutes from sunrise to sunset; and at the close of day the sounds of a 44-gun salute rolled over the hills. Brig. Gen. Thomas Ruger sent word from division headquarters later that month that he would review, but not inspect, the command. He desired to observe a short light artillery drill. Another division commander, Brig. Gen. James W. Forsyth, reviewed the troops in the spring of 1895, having borrowed Presidio horses for himself and an aide.[15]

When Vice President Adlai E. Stevenson visited San Francisco in 1893, the Presidio went all out. When steamer *Corona* passed Fort Point, two batteries of the 5th Artillery fired a salute of 19 guns from 10-inch smooth-bore guns. A troop from the 4th Cavalry, in full dress, met the ship at the Broadway Street pier and escorted the vice president to his hotel. The next day Stevenson reviewed and inspected the Presidio command, again receiving a 19-gun salute.[16]

Foreign visitors also received the appropriate honors on visits to the Presidio. In 1888 the captain of Mexican ship of war *Corbetta* paid his respects to Colonel Graham, who then visited the vessel. Mexican General de Brigada Francisco Olivares reviewed the Presidio troops three years later. The unnamed captain of a Japanese warship visited in 1892. Colonel Graham extended an invitation to the Japanese consul at San Francisco, M. Odagini, to make use of the Presidio grounds when observing the July 4 celebrations. Francis Ferdinand, the Archduke of Austria, traveling incognito, visited the Presidio in 1893, requesting no official courtesies. Capt. Albrecht Hesse, attache to the Imperial German Embassy, asked permission to see the new Battery Dynamite (experimental pneumatic guns firing dynamite) in 1895. Colonel Graham sent a note to the Imperial Russian Consulate in San Francisco in 1896 regretting that he could not accept an invitation due to a previous engagement. A French naval lieutenant from ship *Duguay-Tronin* received permission in 1897 to take magnetic observations from Rob Hill. Army headquarters directed that he be afforded every facility for the work.[17]

Perhaps the most exotic visitors to San Francisco in the nineteenth century were the continuing visits of the kings and queens of Hawaii, those lovely islands of sugar cane and strategic Pearl Harbor. In 1850 Alexander Liholiho, later King Kamehameha IV, and his brother Lot visited California. Prince Lot, as King Kamehameha V, "the Bachelor King," returned to San Francisco in 1860, the first reigning monarch to visit California.

In 1883 the treaty of commercial reciprocity between the Hawaii Kingdom and the United States expired. This caused the Hawaiian sugar industry to worry. Then, in 1887, the U.S. Congress favored a renewal of the treaty only if the United States gained exclusive use of the undeveloped Pearl Harbor as a naval station. King Kalakaua at first opposed this proposal but reluctantly gave his approval later that year.

Then, in 1890 when affairs in the kingdom were in turmoil, Kalakaua returned to San Francisco, this time concerned about his health. Arriving on USS *Charleston* he was well received, San Francisco throwing receptions, balls, and dinners in his honor. He took a trip south to San Diego but, on returning, suffered a mild stroke at Santa Barbara. Returning to the Palace Hotel, the king became unconscious and died on January 20, 1891, of Bright's disease, age 54 years.

Once the king's body was placed in a mortuary, Colonel Graham received an order to provide a mortuary guard of one lieutenant and six enlisted men. When USS *Charleston* sailed from San Francisco bearing the body home, Graham sent a message to Alcatraz asking to be informed by signal when Alcatraz fired the last minute gun from there so that Fort Point could begin firing as *Charleston* passed.[18]

The fort and the city generally cooperated in matters of law and order and fire protection. In 1890 the post commander wrote the mayor asking that a force of city police be present when the California National Guard held maneuvers on the drill field. A large crowd of citizens always gathered to witness the annual affair and the services of the police had been great the previous year. Colonel Graham wrote to both the San Francisco chief of police and the chief of the fire department in 1894 saying that the forces of both had permission to enter the Presidio at all points and to use all the reservation roads.[19]

The Garrison

Brig. Gen. Nelson Miles assumed command of the Division of the Pacific in the fall of 1888. His aide de camp of Geronimo fame, Lt. Charles B. Gatewood, informed the Presidio that renovations had not yet been completed at the general's residence at Fort Mason and Miles would not be occupying the house until they were. The general had, however, already received the Presidio officers at the headquarters in San Francisco. They had assembled at The Alameda, and then traveled to the city in a body for that purpose. Gatewood again entered

the Presidio's records when he gave a lecture at the University of California at Berkeley the following spring.[20]

Colonel Graham may not have met Gatewood but he had enough problems with his own officers. One was Capt. Elias Van A. Andruss, 1st Artillery, a battery commander. According to Graham, Andruss disobeyed the regulations when forming his battery at dress parades, reviews, and inspections. The unforgiving colonel also noted that Andruss had dared to write directly to the general commanding the Army about Graham. It did not take the commander a moment to recommend that Andruss be tried before a general court martial. A similar fate befell Maj. John A. Darling, 5th Artillery, in 1894. Darling's sin was his failure to pay his bills. Among the delinquencies was his involvement with the Bohemian Club where Darling's name was "publicly gazetted on the black list" for failing to settle his debts over a period of three years. Graham advised the several claimants against Darling to write the War Department.[21]

Graham even went after Lt. Col. S. B. M. Young, 4th Cavalry, who arrived at the Presidio in 1894. Young had dared to come on reservation without reporting to Graham. The colonel wrote, "I have no official knowledge of this officer's presence on my post. He has not reported to me or to my adjutant." Graham recommended that the Department of California admonish Young.[22]

The San Francisco depot quartermaster, Lt. Col. James C. Lee, ran into Graham's ire in 1895 when the Quartermaster Department became involved in planting trees that eventually became the Presidio Forest. Lee had made an arrangement with Golden Gate Park to exchange some "excess" Presidio earth for trees to plant in the vicinity of Mountain Lake. When Graham learned of this he exploded, "I strenuously object to this transaction which is irregular and unauthorized." He said he would not permit the removal of any earth and that the depot quartermaster had exceeded his authority. In the end Colonel Lee learned not to use the pronouns "we" and "us" in his correspondence. Henceforth, regarding tree matters he carefully wrote "the Quartermaster General directs."[23]

Death came to the officer ranks in 1889. In April the post surgeon noted that Capt. Lowell A. Chamberlin, commanding Battery C, 1st Artillery, had reported on sick call. Chamberlin had joined the Army with the rank of sergeant at the beginning of the Civil War. In 1866 he became a lieutenant in the Regular Army's 1st Artillery Regiment and served in it until 1889 with but

one short break. Post orders in August announced with deep regret the captain's death saying that the funeral would take place in the post chapel and burial in the national cemetery. In 1904 the War Department named the battery of four 6-inch guns on disappearing carriages† in the southwest portion of the Presidio reservation in Chamberlin's honor.[24]

One of the more remarkable officers assigned to the Presidio arrived in July 1889. A few days later the post commander wrote that Asst. Surg. Leonard Wood showed up at post headquarters dressed in civilian clothing. He had been told he could leave the post until his uniforms arrived and then report officially. Now the commander had received orders for Wood to proceed to Monterey for maneuvers but he had not yet returned to the Presidio, in or out of uniform.

Wood had graduated from Harvard Medical School and joined the Army as an assistant surgeon in 1886. Almost immediately he made a name for himself, not as a surgeon but as a leader and a soldier in the campaign against Geronimo in Arizona that year. Some time later he received the Medal of Honor for distinguished service in the battle. There is no doubt but that General Miles, now commanding at San Francisco, caused Wood's transfer to the Presidio.[25]

Surgeon Wood, although somewhat shy in social circles, made a good impression on all who met him. Large in build, muscular, tow-headed with a mustache to match, women found him attractive and men considered him an outdoor man. His biographer wrote, "Miles himself picked Wood for a certain combination he possessed of intelligence, physical power, and resolute spirit." Wood enjoyed the Presidio from the beginning, and he was one officer that Colonel Graham genuinely liked. Although he played only a little tennis and baseball, he kept himself in shape by having weights in his room at the Corral and by hiking prodigiously. His favorite sport was football, which at that time only the rougher element in San Francisco played. Wood's participation did much to make the game "respectable." His team, the Olympics, played the University of California in 1892 and, later, he formed and captained an all-Army team. Society now cheered its football hero.

In 1890 Wood visited Washington, D.C., and became engaged to Louise Condit-Smith, a ward of a Supreme Court justice. The entire Court attended their wedding. Back at the Presidio, Wood and his wife and baby accompanied the cavalry to spend the summer at Yosemite National Park, "We will see the valley together, while all the falls are full....It sounds like the

roar of a heavy surf in the valley." All good things must come to an end, or to a new beginning, and the Wood family transferred to Fort McPherson, Georgia in 1893.[26]

At the Presidio Dr. Wood became acquainted with Capt. Abram E. Wood, 4th Cavalry, one of the better young officers in the Army. Abram, nicknamed "Jug," had the unfortunate habit of crossing Colonel Graham. On one occasion Graham reported that Abram had instructed him as to how he should command the post and compared Graham to other post commanders. Again, when Abram Wood showed apparent disrespect, Graham recommended a court martial. But fate had another path for Abram. Toward the end of his Presidio assignment, Leonard Wood treated the cavalry officer for cancer of the tongue. Before Leonard's departure, Abram wrote, "I must express to you my great sense of obligation for your past good care and your present solicitude." Capt. A. E. Wood died at the Presidio in April 1894.[27]

Another 4th Cavalry officer, Capt. James Parker, who knew both the Woods, arrived at the Presidio of San Francisco in 1891. Perhaps because his father was Colonel Graham's first cousin, Parker got along with the colonel, but said that Graham was a strict disciplinarian. Parker and his family came west by train to Oakland where they boarded a government boat that took them to the Presidio where "the wind coming in from the Pacific was cold and blowing fiercely." The Parkers quickly adjusted to the new station and to the city:

> San Francisco was in truth at that time a most beguiling and entertaining city....It was then more like an overgrown mining camp or Deadwood City. It was a town where pleasure reigned. Restaurants like Marchard's, Cafe Riche, "The Poodle Dog," "The Pup," "The Maison Doree" and others devoted their upper stories, like Parisian cafés, to private rooms and suites. The best season for the theatres was the summer, when dramatic companies from New York and the East played at prices less by half than those charged in the eastern states. The Tivoli Theatre, admission twenty-five cents, had an excellent opera company which, during the season, went through the whole gamut of opera bouffe and comic opera. The hotels were good and excellently conducted. At the Hotel Occidental the proprietor was in the general habit of presenting his guests on departure with baskets of fruit and flowers.

He added, "My old acquaintenance [from Arizona], Dr. Leonard Wood, now married was at the post."

Once, when Parker was officer of the day, he inspected the guard posts. As is still the custom, he asked each guard to quote his orders. One guard responded, "If I see a red light hoisted on

the flagstaff on Alcatraz Island I am to call the corporal of the guard." This puzzled Parker and he set out to learn why. He finally discovered that five years earlier an artillery officer on Alcatraz named Joshua A. Fessenden was on the point of death. At the Presidio a popular young lieutenant had waited for a vacancy to occur that would allow him to be promoted to captain. Arrangements were made that when Joshua breathed his last, Alcatraz would hoist a light to announce the occasion. Captain Fessenden recovered; the sentinel never saw such a signal; Colonel Graham canceled the order.[28]

As strict a disciplinarian as he was, Colonel Graham insisted that his officers treat their enlisted men with civility. This trait has not been found in the correspondence involving other commanders in that era. In 1890 Graham notified Lt. Wilmot Ellis, 5th Artillery, that he as officer of the day had caused the sentinel Pvt. Thomas Beasley to stand at "Arms Post" for 33 minutes. Furthermore, Ellis had told the private he could stand there until he dropped dead. Other abuse followed. Graham demanded that Ellis report the circumstance in writing. On another occasion Graham notified Capt. Benjamin Roberts, 5th Artillery, that the captain had abused an orderly on official business with the remark, "God damn you wait till I dismount, follow me up to my barracks." Graham admonished Roberts to be more considerate of soldiers in the future.[29]

The colonel kept an eye out for mistreated animals as well as privates. Twice in one summer he reported civilians on the reservation whom he accused of cruelty to their horses to the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. In the first instance a man named Portlany insisted on forcing a lame horse hauling gravel to work harder, even after Graham directed the man's attention to the injury. Two weeks later he came across a driver beating his horse with a plank until it broke. Graham got his hands on one of the pieces that was nearly a yard long. He saved it as evidence.[30]

During these years military prisoners from Alcatraz came to the Presidio daily to carry out menial tasks such as crushing rock at the quarries. In April 1892 a guard over these prisoners shot and killed Convict Charles Cortrite, who had attempted to escape. Plans first called for the body to be buried in the national cemetery, but objections arose and the body was removed from the reservation.[31]

An inspector general in 1891 noted the number of married enlisted men living in quarters on the main post and at Fort Point. He reported that so many married soldiers were an encum-

brance to a command as well as an added and illegitimate expense to the government. He recommended that the best way to be rid of the problem was to tear down "all the crumbling rookeries" they occupied. Colonel Graham objected strenuously, saying that he did not consider them to be an expense to the government and their presence was no evil. They should be left in peace until the areas involved were otherwise needed at some future time.

As tolerant as Graham was of enlisted families, Colonel Shafter stood wholly against the concept. In January 1897 he refused to approve the application of a married man for reenlistment. He was again put to the test when a first sergeant, married and having one child and with an excellent reputation, applied for his second reenlistment. Shafter disapproved, saying that if men could enlist as single and then marry, all efforts to keep married men out of the service would be futile.[32]

The Presidio lost one of its best soldiers in 1893 when Sgt. Maj. Robert West of the 5th U.S. Cavalry died. A sergeant major† was the highest ranking enlisted man in a regiment. In terms of power and authority, the sergeant major ranked somewhere near the colonel commanding the regiment. Although second lieutenants technically were his superior officers, a wise lieutenant took care to cultivate and maintain good relations with the sergeant major. The funeral took place in the Catholic chapel on the second floor of the gun shed in the stables area (former building 50) and interment took place in the national cemetery. Sgt. Max R. Welch, Battery K, succeeded West as the regimental sergeant major.[33]

Among the saddest letters received at an army post were those of parents inquiring of their sons. One such letter appealed for the return of an underage son who had enlisted as a trumpeter. In this instance the Army agreed that he would never become either a good soldier or a good trumpeter and concluded that it would be in the best interest of the service to send him home. In response to the father's request, the sad response was that the lad had been arrested as a deserter and was in confinement. Later Graham learned that the only charge against the soldier was one of fraudulent enlistment. The records did not disclose the outcome.[34]

An important function of a well-run post at that time was the continuing education of enlisted men. The Presidio maintained a schoolhouse, usually run by the post chaplain and better educated enlisted men. In 1889 Colonel Langdon prepared a list of textbooks he wished to acquire:

Swinton's or Harper's Introductory Geography
Robin's First Book in Arithmetic
Complete Arithmetic
Willard's History of the United States for Schools
Bancroft's First Reader
Worcester's Speller
Gould Brown's First Lines of English Grammar
Spencerian System of Writing
Pamphlet Copies of the Constitution of the United States of Amerika [*sic*]

Later he recommended foolscap paper, lead pencils, steel pens, pen holders, slates, slate pencils, chalk, ink, blackboards, and sponges. He mentioned being satisfied with the schoolhouse, including the 16-foot-long desks and benches that seated six men each. While Chaplain George W. Dunbar favored soldier instructors, Langdon was not averse to having junior officers as teachers.[35]

In the earliest days of the American Presidio, nearly all the garrison personnel had extra duties to perform with little time to perfect the science of soldiering. By 1890 when the Presidio had a greatly enlarged garrison, a large number of soldiers were employed as extra and daily duty men in addition to their regular duties while the bulk went about training in the arts of war. Civilians, also employed, had not yet reached the number they would in future years.

List of Extra and Daily Duty Personnel, July 1890

Overseers, clerks, and laborers, Quartermaster
teamsters
carpenters
plumbers
painters and tinners
lamplighter
printers
school teachers
laborers, Subsistence
clerks, Adjutant's office
assistants, Canteen
librarian
overseer, target range
clerk, recruiting office
laborer, Ordnance
mail carrier
telegraph operator
gardeners
cooks and assistants
bakers[36]

Colonel Graham's duties from time to time involved recognizing outstanding accomplishments by his soldiers. Such was the case in 1890 when he happily presented a bronze medal to Sgt. Samuel Adams, Troop K, 4th Cavalry, for accomplishments in small arms competition.[37]

Social Events

When the English writer and poet Rudyard Kipling, visited San Francisco in 1889, he tartly took note of the harbor defenses, "San Francisco is a mad city — inhabited for the most part by perfectly insane people whose women are of a remarkable beauty." As for the defenses, "When the *City of Peking* steamed through the Golden Gate, I saw with great joy that the blockhouse which guarded the mouth of the 'finest harbor in the world, Sir,' could be silenced by two gun-boats from Hong Kong with safety, comfort, and dispatch." Although Kipling was not known as a strategist, San Francisco's defenses were not notably strong at that time.[38]

About the same time the officer in charge of the Presidio's cavalry, Lt. Col. Anson Mills, 4th Cavalry, described his impressions of the city and the post:

> This large post, adjacent to a very large and interesting city, was the most enjoyable station we ever had. The children enjoyed it, Anson going to school and Constance having a good teacher at home.
>
> Numerous balls, dances, and other amusements in addition to strenuous duties, kept us all busy and healthy. Here, again, we had the good fortune to have Doctor Leonard Wood, then a regular army doctor, as our family physician.[39]

In 1897 another lieutenant colonel, this time of infantry, William Henry Bisbee, found the Presidio most agreeable:

> The grounds were ample; the garrison force embraced all three arms of the service for better and more extended work of an interesting kind. Colonel Evan "Paddy" Miles commanded the Post, but General Shafter still living there [at nearby Fort Mason] kept his eye on the general welfare, which Miles did not quite fancy....the rest of us were happy. I found many hours off duty in which to drive friends over a favorite 20 mile course with the black team. All in three hours, to the top of Fortification Hill [possibly Rob Hill], overlooking the Farallone Islands; through Golden Gate Park to the Cliff House; up the ocean drive three miles and back home for luncheon.[40]

The ancient adobe at the head of the parade ground, now called the Assembly Room or Hall, provided a social center for officers and their families. When Colonel Langdon took over the post, he joined the Regimental Officers Mess. There he found all sorts of liquor for sale by glass and bottle. He thought this was not a good practice but decided he needed clarification concerning regulations on the sale of intoxicating liquor on a military reservation.

A post circular in 1888 disclosed that it was the custom at the Presidio for the officers and their families to attend concerts in the Assembly Hall on Tuesday evenings. And formal hops were regular social events. On one occasion the bachelor officers proposed to hold an informal hop and not send out invitations, rather, to bring whomever they wished. Colonel Graham thought this was not a good idea. Instead, the bachelors should send formal invitations reading, "The Bachelors Mess at the Presidio request the pleasure, etc." He said that if they followed his advice they could have the room and five members of the regimental band, providing they were paid $1 each. During his regime, Graham also issued orders forbidding card games and billiards in the building on Sundays.[41]

The marriage of Lt. Milton Davis, 4th Cavalry, caused a fuss in 1894. His fellow cavalrymen wished to entertain the couple at a hop in the hall. They proposed to hire an orchestra from San Francisco. Colonel Graham objected, saying that if the cavalrymen wanted music, they should employ the string section from his artillery band.[42]

The nineteenth century Army did not officially recognize the existence of the families of officers or men. When assigning quarters, the Army did not take into account the number of dependents that might be in a family, but only the officer's seniority — colonels had first choice, second lieutenants came last, and in all cases by date of rank. When an officer died on active duty, his family had to give up its quarters promptly and move off post. There were rare occasions, however, when the Army showed it had a heart. Such was the case of the widow Caroline B. Andrews. Her husband, Col. George P. Andrews, had commanded the Presidio before retiring in the Bay Area in the early 1880s, after 44 years of active duty. When he died in 1887, he left his wife with meager resources (their only child had died). Mrs. Andrews appealed to the Army for quarters on the Presidio. This was against regulations, of course, but it so happened that the Presidio needed a postmistress for whom quarters could be allocated. Mrs. Andrews lived on the reservation for several years, sometimes in vacant quarters at the main post, at other times in officers' quarters at Fort Point. The post office operated out of a room formerly occupied by a battery tailor at the main post. Enlisted men's wives also received consideration on occasion. When the 24th Infantry Regiment transferred to the Philippines in 1900, accommodations for the wives of enlisted men were found in empty buildings in East Cantonment.

About this time the Department of California inquired how many civilians lived on the reserve. Besides Mrs. Andrews, an old man named J. Monahan occupied an "old house" on

the flat between the main post and Fort Point. Another was Mr. Ryan, a blacksmith in the Quartermaster Department. A civilian watchman, McAudiffe, also worked for the quartermaster. He lived in a shanty on the bluff. The gate keepers at First (Arguello) and Central (Presidio) avenues were pensioned soldiers; and the gatekeeper at Lombard Street was a retired ordnance sergeant. These three men received no compensation other than lodging.[43]

The Presidio's children ("Army brats") generated considerable correspondence as did the children living near the reservation. Orders published in 1890 noted that some of them pulled up the saplings that had recently been planted. Others had wreaked havoc on flower beds in The Alameda. A band of small thieves took $13.74 worth of produce from the commissary storehouse one dark night. Those guilty were ordered off the reserve and their parents had to reimburse the government. One boy's father appealed, to no avail. Boys from town occasionally got into trouble, usually for hunting rabbits or quail. In contrast, city youngsters were encouraged to play football on the drill field when it was not in use. On one occasion the San Francisco Boys Brigade came to the Presidio to drill and to examine the coast artillery guns "and other points of interest." Then there were the sad occasions when a child died. In 1888 Sergeant Hofen lost a baby girl less than a month old. In 1892 Colonel Graham had to appeal to the department to send a chaplain to officiate at a child's burial that very day.[44]

Chapels and chaplains continued to be topics for discussion through the 1890s. After Protestant Chaplain G. W. Dunbar was transferred to Fort Bridger, Wyoming, in 1890, Colonel Langdon requested a replacement. He noted that Roman Catholics still had a chapel above the gun shed as they had for the past 12 years, the clergy coming from the city. He did not think it wise for Protestants to attend church in the city because dangerous characters rode the streetcars on Sundays. With new chaplain arriving, Episcopalians at the Presidio organized to have ministers come to the post chapel on Sundays. These families informed The Right Rev. Bishop William F. Nichols, San Francisco, that they could raise $50 per month. The Rev. D. O. Kelley received the appointment. Colonel Graham sought to provide him with quarters, but higher headquarters disapproved.[45]

No record has been found of the cavalry playing polo on the reservation at this time. Colonel Young, 4th Cavalry, however, secured permission in 1895 to march his entire cavalry squadron to Burlingame to witness a polo game between his 4th Cavalry Club and the Riverside Club. On another occasion Colonel Graham allowed a detachment of horses to take

Heavy artillery practice firing in the late 1880s. These guns, apparently located not far from the Broadway gate and firing west into the area of the later golf course, may have been what a 4th Cavalry officer called "Battery Hamilton". *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

part in a tournament in San Francisco for the purpose of raising funds to erect a monument in memory of deceased soldiers at the national cemetery.[46]

Military Training

Colonel Graham set forth the training schedule for the foot batteries in the spring of 1888. For the first half of June each battery would drill at field pieces. During the rest of the month they would drill at 4.5-inch siege guns and 8- and 10-inch siege mortars. These activities were to take place at Fort Point, by then referred to as Fort Winfield Scott. Before he could put this plan into action, Graham learned that the Engineers would be working at Fort Point. Furthermore, part of the summer had to be devoted to small arms target practice for the department competition to begin in July. He asked the department if he could postpone artillery drill until October.

Two years later orders set forth the daily drills for the light batteries:

> Monday. Horse exercise with drivers. Cannoners drill at the school of the soldier dismounted. Squad drill and school of the cannoner "Drill Regulations."
>
> Tuesday. Horse exercise with cannoners. Drivers drill at the school of the soldier dismounted. Squad drill and school of the cannoner "Drill Regulations."
>
> Wednesday. Battery drill. Artillery tactics. Drilling at the service of the piece "Drill Regulations."
>
> Inclement weather — drivers and cannoners at drill in "Drill Regulations," or horse exercise when practical.
>
> Thursday. Same as Monday.
>
> Friday. Horse exercise and battery and harness cleaning.
>
> Saturday. Mounted inspection and horses turned out on herd afterwards.

During the following winter months instruction for the light artillery concentrated on athletics and exercising horses. Horsemanship involved no saddles, rough riding, teaching the horse to obey rider's voice, and teaching the man and the horse to rely on each other.

The following year, 1892, the War Department issued revised light artillery drill regulations. These called for drill in the School of the Soldier Dismounted, School of the Cannoner, The Sabre and Pistol, School of the Battery Dismounted, School of the Soldier Mounted, School of the Driver, School of the Battery, and the School of the Battalion.[47]

Cavalry troopers' training included heliograph and flag signaling. Practice marches as well as the annual marches to the national parks played important roles in their training. In 1891 Troop B, 4th Cavalry, for example, carried out a practice march of eight days. Infantry troops also participated in marches and spent time on the small arms and Gatling gun ranges.

In July 1889 the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a long article titled "A March to the Sea. From the Presidio to Monterey." It described how the troops, led by Colonel Shafter, consisted of 700 men, 150 horses and mules, a wagon train of 16 vehicles with eight gun carriages and eight caissons marched to Monterey for a two-month encampment (today's Fort Ord). The paper gave General Miles credit for this activity, saying that in recent years the bay posts had been merely places of resort and recreation and the enlisted men mere laborers, servants, and guards, but "a new order of things recently came into vogue — active service and drilling."[48]

Since 1891 the cavalry troops had been protecting the national parks in California; then, in 1896, the Presidio's light artillery battalion had the opportunity to visit the wondrous Yosemite Valley. The train included six escort wagons with 24 mules and a Red Cross wagon drawn by four mules. Even the hospital steward was mounted. The battalion remained in the valley one week then returned via Monterey where it participated in ceremonies commemorating the American occupation of California on July 7, 1846. Colonel Graham noted that the bathing at Santa Cruz was very fine and benefitted both soldier and horse.[49]

In the 1890s the Army explored the concept of moving troops by bicycles — the Bicycle Corps. A survey of the Presidio disclosed that 6 officers and 60 enlisted men (and one medical officer) knew how to ride bicycles.

As late as 1897 the Presidio still was sufficiently open (despite tree planting) to carry out simulated battle exercises. In April two opposing brigades were formed:

> 1st Brigade (the defense): Troops B and I, 4th Cavalry; Battery K, 3d Artillery; Companies G and I, 1st Infantry; and Light Battery C, 3d Artillery. Uniform: blouse and cap.
>
> 2d Brigade (the attack): Troops C and K, 4th Cavalry; Battery G, 3d Artillery; Companies A and E, 1st Infantry; and Light Battery I, 3d Artillery. Uniform: brown canvas and campaign hat.

Each man had 20 rounds of blank ammunition and the light batteries were issued powder charges. The problem set forth was the defense of Fort Point against a land attack, with operations limited to the reservation. Later that summer the command carried out similar exercises.[50]

In the winter months during this decade Officers' Lyceums were established at the post. Each officer received topics on which he prepared and presented lectures. While the success of these lyceums seems to have varied greatly, the subjects covered a broad field:

For Captains	Lieutenants, Cavalry	Lieutenants, Artillery
Military Law	Military Law	Military Law
Minor Tactics	Field Engineering	Field Engineering
Administration	Hippology (the study of horses)	Minor Tactics
	Minor Tactics	Administration
	Administration	General Review
	General Review	

And so the Army trained for future wars, one of which lay just over the horizon.[51]

Meanwhile, the Presidio became very much involved in strife of a different kind, one that resulted in fatalities. In 1894 employees of the Pullman Car Company went on strike and major outbreaks of violence occurred on a wide scale. President Grover Cleveland ordered the U.S. Army to quell the rioting at the scenes of violence. In California Colonel Shafter's infantry troops from Angel Island marched southward to Los Angeles from where they guarded the U.S. Mails on their eastward schedules as far as the Colorado River. At the Presidio Colonel Graham readied his 5th Artillery, reinforced by units from Alcatraz Island and Benicia Barracks (20 officers and 395 men), and prepared to move to Sacramento. At the state capital the troops took control of railroad property, expelling rioters. Cavalry units patrolled the city streets breaking up crowds near the railroads. Guards accompanied the trains between Sacramento and Truckee. On July 11, a train traveling two miles south of Sacramento derailed. Four privates guarding the train lost their lives in the accident: James Byrne, Peter Clark, George W. Lubberden, and Wesley C. Dougan. Eventually order and safety returned, and the Presidio troops returned to the post in late August. The following February Graham announced that a monument to the four men of Battery L, 5th Artillery, had been erected in the national cemetery.[52]

U.S. Cavalry to the National Parks, 1891–1913

Horse soldiers rarely garrisoned the Presidio of San Francisco during its early years as an American military post. In 1848–1849 a detachment from the 1st U.S. Dragoon Regiment

occupied the ancient adobe buildings. During the Civil War, 1862–1865, two troops of the California Volunteer Cavalry and a troop of the Native California Cavalry assisted the authorities in maintaining law and order in northern California. After the war, in 1865 and 1866, one troop from each of the 1st and 8th U.S. Cavalry remained at the Presidio for brief periods. Beginning in 1875, however, two troops of cavalry became an integral part of the garrison, from the 1st Cavalry, 1875–1884, and the 2d Cavalry, 1884–1890. They performed routine garrison duties including training, patrolling the large reservation on guard duty, escorting dignitaries visiting San Francisco, and such other tasks assigned.[53]

In August 1886, at the request of the secretary of the interior, a troop of the 1st U.S. Cavalry arrived at Yellowstone National Park, the nation's first national park that had been established in 1872, to begin 30 years of park administration by the U.S. Army. In the fall of 1890 the federal government established three national parks in California: Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant. At the same time the secretary of the interior again turned to the war department seeking troops to manage and protect these new parks. In May 1890 Troops I and K, 4th Cavalry, had arrived for duty at the Presidio of San Francisco and on January 13, 1891, the secretary of war approved their assignments to the new parks for summer duty. Both units departed the Presidio on May 14, Troop I under the command of Capt. A. E. Wood heading for Yosemite and Capt. Joseph H. Dorst leading Troop K to Sequoia and General Grant national parks (the latter eventually becoming a part of Kings Canyon National Park).

These two officers and their successors became the acting superintendents of the parks, spending the warmer months managing and patrolling the parks and the winter months back at the Presidio. The Army established a permanent post at Yellowstone, Fort Yellowstone, in 1908, but no such facility in the California parks. At Yosemite the troops first established a temporary headquarters at Wawona in the southern part of the park, while the Sequoia and General Grant troops occupied various points, sometimes setting up their headquarters outside the boundaries where more level land was available for the large number of men, animals, and wagons. When the State of California receded Yosemite Valley to the federal government in 1906, the cavalry moved the headquarters into the valley and named it Camp A. E. Wood after that first commanding officer.[54]

In 1894 four troops of the 4th Cavalry were stationed at the Presidio. Their commander, Lt. Col. S. B. M. Young, proposed that two of the troops be sent to Yosemite and one to Sequoia.

Two years later the secretary of the interior furthered this concept, requesting that two troops be sent to each park. Four troops marched from the Presidio:

> The Cavalry Squadron consisting of Troops B, C, I, and K, 4th Cavy. under Lieut Col. S. B. M. Young, 4th Cavy. with a wagon train of 10 four-mule wagons, 2 Dougherty wagons with 4 mules each, a buck board with 2 mules, 4 saddle mules and pack train of 24 mules fully equipped, left the Post en route for the Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks at 9:00 o'clock A.M., May 3d 1896.
>
> Troops B and K, 4th Cavalry arrived at Camp Wawona Cal. May 19th 96. Total distance marched 282-2/3 miles.
>
> Troop C, 4th Cavalry, date of arrival at Three Rivers, Cal. not known.
>
> Troop I, 4th Cavalry arrived at Genl. Grant Nat. Park, Cal., May 31st. Total distance marched 317-3/5 miles.[55]

A cavalry officer described the departure of the 4th Cavalry from the Presidio one fine spring day. At the sounds of "Boots and Saddles," followed by "Assembly," some 200 mounted cavalrymen assembled in front of the new brick barracks. They marched up the hill to the Central Avenue (Presidio Boulevard) gate. The post band played, "The Girl I Left Behind Me." The 4th's field and staff led the march followed by the four troops (Troop K's coal black horses leading). Then came a dozen or more four-mule army wagons, their white canvas covers blazing in the sun. Pack mules brought up the rear. Shortly after the column left Golden Gate Park, the troop dogs, which had escaped from arrest, caught up with their comrades for another great summer.[56]

A large part of the 4th Cavalry Regiment departed San Francisco for the Philippine Islands in June 1898, leaving only Troops B and M at the Presidio. The records do not reveal whether they traveled to the national parks that summer. An outfit that did, the First Troop of Utah Volunteer Cavalry, departed the Presidio in September, visited both Yosemite and Sequoia, and returned to the Presidio in November where it was mustered out of the service.[57]

The routes of travel to the parks were clearly set down in 1909 when Troops I and M, 14th Cavalry, left the post on April 15 for Yosemite; and Troop G departed on April 20 for Sequoia.

Presidio to Yosemite

April 15	Presidio to San Bruno	15.5 miles
April 16	San Bruno to Mayfield	20 miles
April 17	Mayfield to Santa Clara	13 miles
April 18	Santa Clara to Madrone	22 miles
April 19	Madrone to Wilson's Ranch (Gilroy)	19 miles
April 20	Wilson's Ranch to Mountain House	27 miles
April 21	Mountain House to Los Banos	25 miles
April 22	Los Banos to Firebaugh	28 miles
April 23	Firebaugh to Madera	25.5 miles
April 24	Madera to Raymond	24 miles
April 25	Raymond to Crooks Ranch	19 miles
April 26	Crooks Ranch to Wawona	25.5 miles
April 27	Wawona to Camp Yosemite	27 miles
Total		**284.5 miles**
	actually	290.5 miles

Presidio to Sequoia

April 20	Presidio to San Bruno	15 miles
April 21	San Bruno to Mayfield	18 miles
April 22	Mayfield to Santa Clara	15 miles
April 23	Santa Clara to Morgan Hill	22 miles
April 24	Morgan Hill to Wilson's Ranch	18 miles
April 25	Wilson's Ranch to Mountain House	20 miles
April 26	Mountain House to Los Banos	22 miles
April 27	Los Banos to Leonards Ranch	21 miles
April 28	Leonards Ranch to Madera	35 miles
April 29	Madera to Fresno	23 miles
April 30	Fresno to Kings River	20 miles
	and on to Graham	12 miles
May 1	Graham to Tulare	12 miles
May 2	camped	
May 3	Tulare to Jennings Ranch	16 miles
May 4–6	camped	
May 7	Jennings Ranch to Three Rivers	22 miles
May 8–9	camped	
May 10	Three Rivers to Watson Spring	16 miles
May 11	Watson Spring to Camp Sequoia	16 miles
Total		**323 miles**[58]

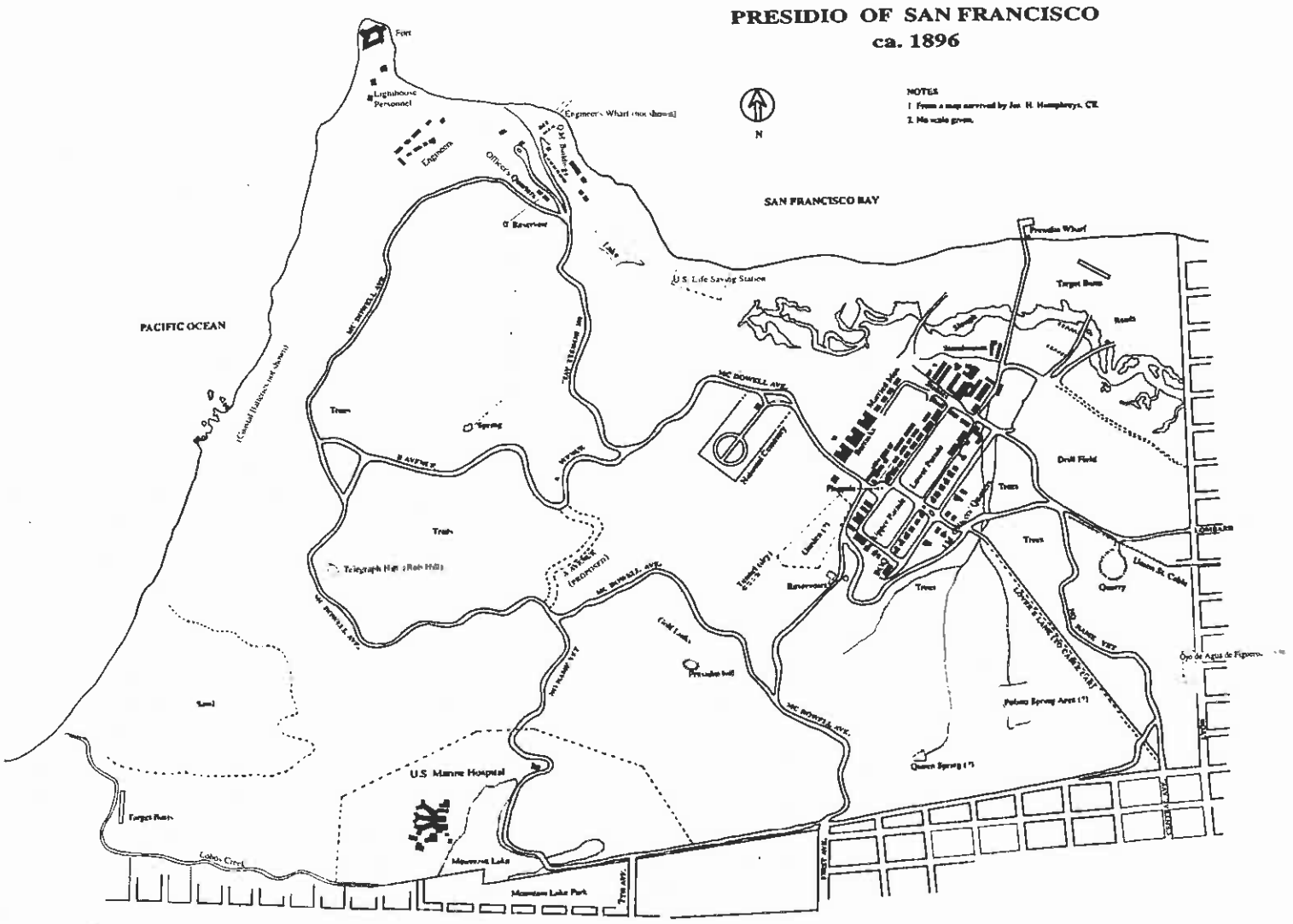
Following the Spanish-American War, a number of cavalry regiments, stationed at the Presidio, performed the annual duties in the parks:

Troops K and L of the 9th Cavalry, from the Presidio of San Francisco, garrisoned and managed Yosemite National Park in the summer of 1903. *Yosemite National Park.*

6th Cavalry Regiment, 1899–1901
15th Cavalry Regiment, 1901
3d Cavalry Regiment, 1902
9th (Black) Cavalry Regiment, 1903
(Records unavailable for 1904 and 1905)
14th Cavalry Regiment, 1906–1909
1st Cavalry Regiment, 1910–1913

Because construction for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition called for the destruction of the cavalry stables in the lower Presidio, the 1st Cavalry Regiment transferred to the Presidio of Monterey in December 1913. The summer of 1913 thus proved to be the last season the Presidio's horse soldiers spent in the national parks.[59]

As pleasant as patrolling in the national parks must have been for the troopers, the U.S. Army was happy to have the cavalry return to soldiering as trouble mounted on the Mexican border and war clouds gathered in Europe. Not only was the War Department spending its appropriations on Department of the Interior responsibilities, the training of the cavalry troops for combat suffered. The Army's retired chief of staff, Lt. Gen. S. B. M. Young, wrote, "Such details are injurious to the Army in that regimental and squadron organizations are not



From a map surveyed by Jas. H. Humphreys, CE. National Archives, Record Group 77. NPS drawing no. 641-20487.

only disturbed but the troop organization is largely demoralized by subdividing the men into small parties far separated for indefinite periods of time without the personal supervision of an officer."

Nevertheless, as Historian H. Duane Hampton writes, the cavalry acting without the benefit of well-defined legal stipulations and hampered by the absence of punitive legislation, did save the Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant national parks in the same manner that the cavalry had saved the Yellowstone National Park. "Without the protective presence of the United States Cavalry, much of what exists today as a part of the National Park system could well have become, like other nonprotected areas, scarred, disfigured, and destroyed. Park visitors...owe these forgotten men a debt of gratitude."[60]

Melange

By 1897 the Presidio of San Francisco had grown into a major army post; professionalism in military training and operations had become the order of the day. Yet there were small incidents, arcane regulations, and unpredictable happenings that were reminders of the fact that the handsome post at the Golden Gate was made up of human beings.

The post quartermaster learned in 1889 that he could now use a typewriter for his official correspondence, except that sums of money should still be in ink, "as it adds security to such papers." Officers in arrest received orders to confine themselves to quarters during such times as the troops were on review, dress parade, or drill. When Sgt. Patrick Dougherty complained that his men could not air their blankets on the barracks porch, he was curtly informed that the piazzas were not the proper place; he should have clotheslines in the back yard.

One morning the body of a dead man was discovered on the reservation near the Harbor View resort. The San Francisco coroner investigated. Two months later a trooper fell from the second floor of a cavalry barracks porch. He did not survive. The accident report concluded with the comment that the soldier had no relatives. Many restrictions forbade the photographing of any armament on the reserve. In 1892, however, the quartermaster general directed that 12 photographs of the buildings and grounds be taken to be displayed at the Columbian Exposition and Chicago World's Fair the next year.

The post commander prohibited the playing of all games on Sundays. He said that large numbers of well-behaved people, including women and children, visited the Presidio on that day, whereas sports attracted the lawless class and hoodlums. Then there were the pets. An infantry company received permission to have two greyhounds as barracks dogs. The cavalry had gone too far; the post commander ordered that they immediately get rid of the pet bear they kept in the stables.[61]

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the Regular Army slowly emerged from its years of isolation that had followed the Civil War. By 1890 the Indian Wars had ended and the Census Bureau announced the closing of the frontier. The Army began closing many of the small one- and two-company posts and concentrated troops in larger installations located on lines of communication. In 1870, troops occupied 175 garrisons and in 1894, only 80. The Presidio of San Francisco, being the neighbor of a large cosmopolitan city, had not experienced the same degree of isolation and neglect as most posts. Yet it, too, grew in strength during these years. Its strength in January 1870 amounted to seven officers and 165 enlisted men. Twenty-nine officers and 579 enlisted men formed the garrison in January 1894.

This concentration of strength, often from the different arms, allowed for the training of regiment-sized units for the first time in many years. Maneuvers and sham battles, such as that led by Colonel Shafter at Monterey in 1889, became possible. Professionalism increased among army officers. In 1890 promotions below the rank of major were made by examination rather than by seniority. That same year officer promotion was made within each arm, corps, or staff department, rather than from within the regiment as before. The army initiated efficiency reports during the 1890s. Additional schools were established, such as a school of instruction for cavalry and artillery at Fort Riley, Kansas, in 1892, and the Army Medical School in 1893. Lyceums, such as those held at the Presidio, military journals, and other publications further stimulated professional study.[62]

The last decade of the nineteenth century brought significant developments in the Presidio's organization and missions. The three arms — infantry, artillery, and cavalry — now composed the growing garrison. The troops contributed to all of San Francisco's public occasions with parades and military honors. National figures, including the President, and foreign dignitaries reviewed and inspected the units at the post. Officers and their families enjoyed the amenities of the city and became involved in civic affairs. Important developments took place in military training as well as the schooling of uneducated enlisted men. Presidio troops safe-

guarded public property in California during labor unrest; and they protected the newly established national parks. As the century drew to a close, the Presidio's importance increased with its role as the key element in a new era of coastal defenses for the western United States.

Chapter 8 Notes:

1. Howard, *Annual Report 1887*. San Francisco's population now approached 300,000.

2. Post Returns, 1887–1897.

3. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Shafter, June 30, 1890, to the secretary of war, and Miles, March 25, 1893, Shafter Papers, Stanford University, California. In an 1890 letter requesting a promotion, Shafter forgot to sign his letter. A friend in Washington clipped Shafter's signature from another letter and pasted it in.

6. *Webster's American Military Biographies*.

7. *Ibid*.; David G. Battle and Erwin N. Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone, Yellowstone National Park, Historic Structure Report* (Denver: NPS, 1972), pp. 58–60. Young had earlier served as acting superintendent of Yellowstone while still on active duty.

8. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

9. Maj. J. Rodgers, August 14, 1898, to Lt. Greble, Aide-de-camp, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. At that time many Presidio commanders belonged to the Bohemian Club. An excellent discussion of the club may be found in Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*.

10. Nelson A. Miles, *Serving the Republic: Memoirs of the Civil and Military Life of Nelson A. Miles* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911), p. 231; Brian C. Pohanka, ed., *Nelson A. Miles, A Documentary Biography of His Military Career, 1861–1903* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1985), p. 26; *Daily Alta California*, October 19 and 31, 1889; *San Francisco Examiner*, May 10, 1889.

11. Miles, *Annual Report, 1889*, pp. 6–7. Coastal defenses are discussed in a subsequent chapter.

12. Post Returns, PSF, 1889–1894; Lt. Croxton, May 18, 1897, to Mr. Chas. H. Blinn, George H. Thomas Post 2, Grand Army of the Republic, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

13. Post Returns, PSF, April 1891; Orders 99, April 27, 1891, Post Orders 1890–1891, PSF, RG 393, NA.

14. Lt. Finley, telephone call re: Greely, April 29, 1891; Additional Aide-de-camp Woodruff, June 23, 1891, to commanding officer, PSF, both in Register of Letters Received 1891, PSF; Orders 161, July 5, 1891, Post Orders 1891–1892, PSF; Lt. Galbraith, June 17, 1895, to Lt. Col. S. B. M. Young, Letters Sent, PSF, all in RG 393, NA.

15. Orders 16, January 19, 1893, Post Orders 1892–1893, PSF; Assistant adjutant general, Department of California, April 25, 1893, to commanding officer, PSF; and J. F. Bell, March 14, 1895; Register of Letters Received, 1893–1895, PSF; Assistant adjutant general, Department of California, April 4, 1894, Register of Letters Sent 1894, PSF, RG 393, NA.

16. Orders 150, July 18, and 151, July 19, 1893, Post Orders 1892–1893, PSF; Assistant adjutant general, Department of California, July 18, 1893, Register of Letters Received 1893, PSF, RG 393, NA.

17. Post adjutant, August 18, 1888, to Alexander K. Coney; Graham, May 22, to V. Antsimovitch, and June 27, 1896, to Saburo Koya; Lt. J. Jones, September 6, 1895, to Mr. Batcheller, Letters Sent, PSF; Orders 146, June 17, 1891, Post Orders 1891–1892, PSF; Department of California, December 9, 1892, and September 13, 1893, to commanding officer, PSF; M. Odagini, July 12, 1893, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, 1892–1893, PSF, RG 393, NA.

18. John E. Baur, "When Royalty Came to California," *California History* 67: 244–265; Wismiewski, *The Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom*, pp. 67–68 and 89–90; Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time, A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1968), pp. 252, 261, and 263; Erwin N. Thompson, *Pacific Ocean Engineers, History of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in the Pacific, 1905–1980* (Honolulu [1983]), pp. 13–15; Graham, January 26, 1891, to commanding officer, Alcatraz, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

Later, Pvt. John W. Horrocks, 5th Artillery, asked for the remission of a portion of the sentence imposed on him by a court martial. He was refused, his offense having occurred while escorting the king's remains. Whatever he did, he brought disgrace on the uniform of the U.S. soldier on a sacred and public occasion in the San Francisco Trinity Church. Horrocks, April 25, 1891, Register of Letters Received 1891, PSF, RG 393, NA.

19. Langdon, February 18, 1890, to the Mayor of San Francisco; Graham, December 27, 1894, to Chief of Police and Chief of Fire Department, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

20. C. B. Gatewood, December 12, 1888, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1888–1889; Circular 41, November 27, 1888, Post Orders 1888–1889, PSF; H. Harris, March 5, 1889, to G. F. E. Harrison, Professor of Military Science, Berkeley, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Gatewood had served in Arizona under both Generals Crook and Miles. Instrumental in persuading Geronimo to surrender, Gatewood became an aide to Miles but did not receive official recognition of his accomplishment, apparently because of his earlier association with Crook, whom Miles disliked. Gatewood, too, lived at Fort Mason. He retired from the Army in 1892 and died four years later. Robert Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles & the Twilight of the Frontier Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1893), pp. 156–157. Gatewood's topic was not recorded. Did he, perhaps, discuss his role in the capture of the Apache leader Geronimo?

21. Graham, September 18, 1888, to Department of California, Letters Sent, and December 24, 1894, 9th indorsement, Register of Letters Received 1894–1895, PSF, RG 393, NA. Both officers escaped Graham's wrath, Andruss retiring in 1902 with the rank of colonel, and Darling retiring in 1897.

22. Graham, April 26, 1894, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA. The two officers later cooperated in a futile effort to stop the planting of trees on the reservation. Young transferred to Yellowstone National Park in 1894 and, eventually, became the first modern chief of staff, U.S. Army.

23. J. B. C. Lee, November 6, 1895; Graham, November 11, 1895, Register of Letters Received 1895–1896, PSF, RG 393, NA.

24. Post surgeon, April 2, 1889, Register of Letters Received, 1889; Orders 205, August 9, 1889, Post Orders 1899, PSF, RG 393, NA. Between 1849 and 1897 the Presidio's post returns recorded the deaths of 16 officers and 123 enlisted men. Not all were buried in the national cemetery. The largest number of deaths occurred in the last year of the Civil War, 1865, and the year of the Modoc War, 1873.

25. Wood's Medal of Honor citation: "Voluntarily carried dispatches through a region infested with hostile Indians, making a journey of 70 miles in one night and walking 30 miles the next day. Also for several weeks, while in close pursuit of Geronimo's band and constantly expecting an encounter, commanded a detachment of Infantry, which was then without an officer, and the command of which he was assigned upon his own request." U.S. Senate, 90th Cong., 2d sess., *Medal of Honor, 1863–1968* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 332.

26. *Webster's American Military Biographies*; Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, A Biography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1923) 2 vols. 1:68, 84, 115–131; Langdon, July 24, 1889, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Jack C. Lane, *Armed Progressive, General Leonard Wood* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978), pp. 18–21.

In 1895 Leonard Wood became the White House physician to President Grover Cleveland, then to President William McKinley. Theodore Roosevelt was a close friend and the two of them organized the 1st Volunteer Cavalry

Regiment (Rough Riders) for combat in Cuba where Wood became a brigadier general. As military governor of Cuba he instituted governmental reforms. Next came a tour in the Philippines where he governed a rebellious province. In 1906 he took command of the Department of the Philippines. General Wood became the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, in 1910. A brilliant administrator and the first truly effective chief, he instituted reforms leading to a modern army. He entered politics and in 1920 became a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, losing to Warren G. Harding. General Wood died in Boston in 1927 following surgery for a cerebral tumor.

27. Graham, September 3 and December 6, 1891, and April 14, 1894, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, 1:129–130.

28. James Parker, *The Old Army, Memories, 1872–1918* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, ca. 1929), microfilm, University of Colorado, Boulder, pp. 150, 196–198.

29. J. Coffin, September 10, 1890, to W. E. Ellis; A. Blunt, December 8, 1893, to B. K. Roberts, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

30. Graham, August 22 and September 7, 1896, to C. B. Holbrook, Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

31. E. Young, another military prisoner, attempted to implicate the guard for being in a drunken brawl with the prisoners. He was unsuccessful. W. C. Davis, April 16, 1892, to Coroner, San Francisco; Graham, December 16, 1891, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

32. Shafter, January 28, and November 23, 1897, Register of Letters Received 1897, PSF, RG 393, NA.

33. Orders 285, December 25, 1892, and Orders 16, January 19, 1893, Post Orders 1892–1893, PSF, RG 393, NA.

34. Mrs. J. P. Blunt, May 23, 1892, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1892; Graham, July 16, 1896, to A. R. Tucker, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

35. Langdon, July 4, 1889, and April 1890, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

36. Orders 192, July 22, 1890, Post Orders 1889–1890, PSF, RG 393, NA.

37. Graham, September 26, 1890, to Inspector of Small Arms Practice, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

38. Rudyard Kipling, *American Notes*, p. 15.

39. Anson Mills, *My Story*, ed. C. H. Claudy (Washington, 1921), p. 199.

40. Bisbee, *Through Four American Wars*, pp. 235–236.

41. Langdon, October 15, 1889, to War Department; J. Coffin, July 19, 1892, to G. W. I. Stevens; H. Harris, November 5, 1888, to President of the Council of Administration, Letters Sent, PSF; Circular, December 27, 1887, Post Orders 1887–1888, PSF, RG 393, NA.

42. H. E. Benson, March 19, 1894, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1894, RG 393, NA.

43. Langdon, July 18, 1889, to Department of California; C. P. Summerall, September 14, 1894, to Caroline Andrews, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

44. Orders 202, August 14, 1888, and July 8, 1890, Post Orders 1888–1889; A. Blunt, May 10, 1893, to G. Adams; Lt. Galbraith, February 25, 1894, to J. C. Peters, and July 4, 1896, to Mr. Monoghan; Graham, August 5, 1896, to W. E. Fisher; J. Coffin, September 6, 1892, to J. Berry, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

45. Langdon, April 18, 1890, to War Department; Graham, February 3, 1893, to Department of California, and August 20, 1892, to W. F. Nichols, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

46. Young, April 4, 1895, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1895; Graham, October 5, 1895, to A. R. Holzheid, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

47. Orders 128, May 23, 1888; Orders 48, February 23, and 321, December 13, 1890; Orders 149, July 15, 1992, Post Orders 1888–1892; Graham, June 22, 1888, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

48. Commanding officer, Troop F, 4th Cavalry, February 21, 1893, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received; Orders 257, October 3, 1889; Orders 213, September 11, 1891, Post Orders 1889–1891, PSF, RG 393, NA; *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 9, 1889 and December 12, 1895.

49. Graham, May 19, 1896, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Camps of the light artillery battalion en route to and from Yosemite in 1896:

Going	**Returning**
Uncle Tom's Cabin	Yosemite to Bell's Ferry
(17 miles from Presidio)	same as in going
Mayfield	Hollister
San Jose	Primedale
Madrone	Blanco
Gilroy	Monterey
Bell's Ferry	Castroville
San Luis Ranch	Watsonville
Dixon's Ferry	Santa Cruz
Merced	Pescadero
Bennett's Ranch	La Honda
Raymond	Redwood City
Cooks	Milbrae
Wawona	Presidio
Yosemite	

50. General Orders 10, March 31, 1897, Special Orders and General Orders, 1896–1897, PSF, RG 393, NA.

51. Orders 272, December 1, 1891, Post Orders 1891–1892, PSF, RG 393, NA.

52. Department of California Return July 1894, adjutant general's office, War Department, RG 94, NA; Graham, February 26, 1895, to F. Miller, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

53. PSF, Post Returns, 1847–1890.

54. H. Duane Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971), pp. 3, 130–131, 143–144, and 147. By 1912 Camp A. E. Wood consisted of six officers' quarters, two barracks, two lavatories, and a temporary hospital, all wood frame. J. Longstreet, Report of Construction, 1912, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA. Two wood-frame officers' quarters remain in Yosemite National Park and are in the Yosemite Village Historic District.

55. Adjutant general, Department of California, March 28, 1896, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA; PSF, Post Returns 1896. From 1905 to 1909 only three troops of Cavalry were stationed at the Presidio, two going to Yosemite, one to Sequoia.

56. J. A. Lockwood, "Uncle Sam's Troopers in the National Parks of California," *Overland Monthly* (April 1899), pp. 356–366.

57. PSF, Post Returns 1898; Hampton, *How the Cavalry Saved*, p. 159, states that no Regulars went to the national parks that year.

58. PSF, Post Returns, 1909.

59. *Ibid*, 1899–1913. In 1914 Maj. William T. Littebrant again marched his 1st Cavalry troops to Yosemite, this time from the Presidio of Monterey. On July 14, 1914, an Interior Department employee, Gabriel Sovulewski, relieved Major Littebrant as park supervisor, and on June 10, 1915, Interior Department representative Mark Daniel introduced George V. Bell as the new superintendent. Thus the Interior Department took direct control of Yosemite from the "acting superintendents" who, since 1891, had been army officers. President Woodrow Wilson's admin-

istration already had in the works creation of a new uniformed civilian bureau of the Department of the Interior that would be established by an act of Congress in 1916, the National Park Service.

60. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, pp. 59–60; Hampton, *How the Cavalry Saved*, p. 163 and 176–177; S. B. M. Young, October 15, 1907, "Annual Report," Letters Sent XVII, April–October 1907, Archives, Yellowstone National Park.

61. Circular 2, March 15, 1889, War Department; Orders 179, July 11, 1889, Post Orders 1899; commanding officer, PSF, September 22, 1893, 1st endorsement; P. Dougherty, November 22, 1891, to commanding officer, Troop K; commanding officer, PSF, November 14, 1891; C. P. Miller, October 20, 1892, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1889–1893; Graham, August 10, 1892, to Coroner; J. Jones, February 6, 1896, to G. H. Gale, Letters Sent; F. O. Ferris, November 27, 1897, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letter Received 1897, PSF, RG 393, NA.

62. Weigley, *United States Army*, pp. 290–291; Coffman, *Old Army*, pp. 270 and 281–282; Maurice Matloff, *American Military History* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 281, 289–290, and 319; R. Ernest Dupuy, *The Compact History of the United States Army*, 2d ed. rev. (New York: Hawthorn, 1973), p. 159; Francis Paul Prucha, *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789–1895* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), pp. 34–36.

Chapter 9. "One of Our Largest, Handsomest Posts," 1888–1897

New Facilities

When Lt. Col. William M. Graham, 1st Artillery, surveyed his command in January 1888 he noted that 37 officers and 448 enlisted men comprised the Presidio garrison. When Col. Evan Miles, 1st Infantry, signed the post returns on December 31, 1897, he counted 37 officers and 881 enlisted men. This large increase in the command, accompanied by the Army's efforts at modernization, caused many changes in the main post during the 1890s.

The many improvements in the physical plant at the Presidio of San Francisco during the early years of this decade resulted not so much from the consolidation of regiments nationwide as from the presence of the division headquarters offices earlier in the 1880s, and from the construction of a massive new system of coastal defenses in the 1890s and beyond. Much of the personnel increase resulted from the assignment of additional artillery units to man the new defenses. They and the cavalry units that protected the national parks comprised the garrison through the early 1890s. In 1896, however, two battalions of the 1st U.S. Infantry, which had concentrated its strength on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, arrived at the Presidio. In December 1897 the three arms at the Presidio — infantry, artillery, and cavalry — had a strength of more than 900 personnel. Great improvements were made in quarters for officers and enlisted men, the latter moving into a row of large and handsome masonry barracks on Montgomery Street.

In his annual building report for 1888, the post quartermaster noted repairs and additions that had been carried out on the original officers' row west of Funston Avenue. More bay windows had been added to quarters 12 and 16 (current building numbers). Kitchen-laundry ells had been constructed at quarters 13 and 14 (current building numbers). Most of the row had had the interiors painted. The four field officers' quarters east of Funston [56, 57, 58, and 59] each acquired a laundry and servant's quarters ell.

The Presidio continued to experience a shortage of officers' quarters. A letter in November 1888 pointed out that it was the largest artillery garrison in the United States; there were 44 officers on the post but only 30 sets of quarters.[1]

Field officer's quarters, 65, constructed in 1893 on the east side of Funston Avenue. Although it was the only quarters at the Presidio to be mansard roofed, it was probably built from standard army plans. North and west elevations. *NPS photograph by Gordon Chappell, June 1989.*

Washington responded to the Presidio's situation, first by approving the conversion of the schoolhouse (then 19, not extant) next to the chapel to a set of quarters at a cost of $2,442; and in 1889, the erection of two sets of field officers' quarters [51 and 64] for $5,100 on the east side of Funston. When completed the former schoolhouse had nine rooms — two sitting rooms, dining room, two bedrooms, kitchen, laundry, servants' room, and bathroom.[2]

The shortage remained. In 1890 Colonel Langdon reported that the 40 officers then at the Presidio (including a division staff officer) had been crowded into 33 sets of quarters. Further construction included still another set of field officer's quarters [65] on the east side of Funston Avenue in 1893, and the conversion of the former barracks that had formed the northern half of the old Division of the Pacific headquarters offices (former building 24) into two sets of quarters for lieutenants.[3]

The Protestant chapel [45] underwent little change at this time. Only 15 or so officers and their families attended services. A request for a new carpet (112 square yards) was submitted to the

War Department. The 100 or so soldiers who attended the Catholic chapel above the gun shed (former building 50) lost that facility when fire destroyed the building in 1895. The post commander turned over the former steam dummy (railroad) depot (former building 53) for their use. He said it made a good chapel but was too small.[4]

The ancient adobe at the south end of the parade, now called the Assembly Room and Officers' Mess (former building 20 [50], occasionally called the "club") was described in 1888 as having four rooms in the adobe portion, a 30–foot by 55-foot assembly room in a wood-frame section, and a small wood-frame ell to the rear that measured 18 feet by 33 feet and had two rooms. Approval had arrived to add another ell.[5]

In 1888 the Army moved Fort Point's two one-story, wood-frame barracks, each 30 feet by 120 feet, to the main post placing them immediately to the west of the post hospital, on a north-south axis. The post quartermaster numbered them 97 and 98 and submitted a request to add a water closet and a 1st sergeant's room to each.[6] (These buildings are no longer extant.)

By 1890 the enlisted barracks had become overcrowded. An analysis of the situation listed the barracks and the occupants of each:

24. Band barracks — 21 men. (This was the former two-story kitchen and mess hall that formed the northwest unit of the division headquarters.)

29. Artillery barracks — 36 men. (Constructed in Civil War.)

30. Artillery barracks — 36 men. (Constructed in Civil War.)

32. Artillery barracks — 36 men. (Constructed in Civil War.)

34. Infantry barracks — 36 men. (Constructed in Civil War.)

37. Cavalry barracks — 56 men. (Constructed in Civil War, later remodeled into two story cavalry barracks [86].)

38. Light Battery, Artillery — 61 men. (Constructed in Civil War, later moved from south to north end of the parade ground.)

72. Cavalry barracks — 57 men. (Constructed in Civil War, later remodeled into two-story cavalry barracks [87].)

88. Light Battery, Artillery — 56 men. (Constructed 1885 [36].)

89. Infantry barracks — 56 men. (Constructed ca. 1885.)

97. Artillery barracks — 27 men. (Moved from Fort Point.)

98. Artillery barracks — 27 men. (Moved from Fort Point.)

Colonel Langdon wrote that, in view of the fact that each man should have 800 cubic feet of air space, the Presidio barracks were overcrowded by about 120 men.[7]

The situation had not improved by the end of 1892. Colonel Graham penned a lengthy letter in which he said the existing barracks could be enlarged by adding a second story where possible, but they would still be old and flimsy. Because of the size and importance of the Presidio and its proximity to a major city, and because of the many daily visitors including officers from foreign countries, new barracks should be constructed of modern materials and be of ample size. It took time. A year later the Department of California notified Graham that the secretary of war had authorized construction of the first of large, double (i.e., two-company) barracks complete with mess facilities.[8]

The chief quartermaster in the department wrote that he would personally direct the construction and that Mr. Jas. H. Humphreys, a civilian engineer, would have immediate supervision. Before work could begin, a ravine running north from the base of Presidio Hill, between the row of wooden barracks and the former laundresses' row, had to be filled and the laundresses' row removed. Once filled in, this new land would serve as company areas for the new row of barracks and eventually a parade ground.[9]

As construction got underway, a scramble began to determine which of the married enlisted men were authorized quarters and, if so, where they could move. A civilian, F. L. Hansen, won the contract for constructing the first double barracks [101]. Angel Island provided the stone for the foundation. Bricks formed the walls. The building was completed in 1895. A summary sheet of the contracts for that first barracks listed the costs of various undertakings:

Above: Artillery barracks. One of two built circa 1886 at the north end of the old parade ground. While this building was demolished in 1912, its sister building to the right, now 36, has survived. Photo circa 1893. *National Archives photograph.*

Below: Artillery barracks, 36, built circa 1886, at the north end of the old parade ground. Its companion, which once stood to the right, was demolished in 1912. In 1994, building 36 housed military police offices. The photo shows the south elevation. *NPS photograph by Gordon Chappell, June 1989.*

Above: Earliest known photograph of the brick barracks, 101-105, on today's Montgomery Street along the west side of the main parade ground; built 1895-1897. Photo believed to be 1898. Water wagon, cannon, and limber are in the foreground. View toward the southwest. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Below: Presidio brick barracks 104 and 105 as they appeared circa 1900. Guard mount formation extreme right. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Constructing a drain and filling the ravine, 1894	$1,763 and 6,238
One two-company barracks	33,900
Gas piping	180
Plumbing	2,275
Lockers	548
Wardrobe lockers	614[10]

The next two barracks [102 and 103] were completed in 1896, and the row was extended by the erection of two more barracks [104 and 105] in 1897. The post quartermaster ordered screens for the doors and windows. Colonel Graham pointed out the necessity for blinds on the front windows. He fretted that the new Montgomery Street ran too close to the barracks; the companies needed space on which to form for roll calls and inspections — the genesis of a new parade ground between the two rows of barracks. The original lighting plan proved inadequate and the quartermaster drew up a new list of gas lamps required. When barracks 104 and 105 were completed, someone discovered that the gas piping for the "pendant double lamps" had not been installed. Finally, in 1897, $230 became available for a concrete sidewalk along Montgomery Street.[11]

When the troops moved into their new homes, Graham set about finding new uses for the wooden barracks. The post exchange moved into one of them. Officers who had had to maintain offices in their own quarters now found ample room. Space was allotted for courts martial, examining boards, lyceums, recruiting, and battalion commanders. Even the regimental band found a new practice space.[12]

Until the 1890s the entrances at Lombard Street and at First (Arguello) Avenue had been guarded by heavy wooden archways provided with wooden gates. Both had begun to suffer from old age and Colonel Graham thought the time had come to dignify these entrances with gates of iron. The depot quartermaster let contracts for the gates in mid-1895 and by November he had plans readied for stone wing walls at the entrances. When work got underway the quartermaster wished to remove some cannon in the way. Graham said these guns had been emplaced in 1880. At first he thought they had served as guards but the War Department assured him they were for ornamental purposes. At any rate, Graham said they could not be dropped from the records without the authority of the secretary of war through the Chief of Ordnance. But, he concluded, they could be removed temporarily until the work was completed. The imposing iron gateways were completed early in 1896 at a cost of $3,900. Work then proceeded on the stone wing walls. Soon, vandals attacked the ornamental gate

posts at the Arguello entrance and succeeded in breaking off the last letter in "Essayons" (Let Us Try) on the engineers' insignia on one of the faces.

Once the entrances had been completed, the depot quartermaster, Lt. Col. J. G. C. Lee, proceeded with the construction of a stone wall along the eastern boundary of the reservation, starting at Lombard Street and extending southward. At the same time correspondence dealt with plans for a similar wall on the southern boundary, from the Central (Presidio) Avenue entrance westward beyond Arguello. The secretary of war's annual report for 1897 announced that one contract for the walls had been completed, but another one progressed but slowly because of the difficulty in obtaining rock of the required color.

Then there was the entrance on the southern boundary at Seventh Avenue. The reservation road at this point crossed over a bridge on the eastern tip of Mountain Lake, along the east side of the lake, and through the U.S. Marine Hospital's reservation to the Presidio. In 1895 the Army erected a sign at the entrance reading "U.S. Military Reservation." In 1897 the Marine Hospital painted over the sign and reworded it "U.S. Marine Hospital Reservation." The Presidio's rage made its way to higher headquarters. Eventually the hospital's sign came down.

The Central (Presidio) Avenue entrance became an issue when the Jackson Street Car Company tore up some four blocks of the avenue from Pacific to Sacramento streets. While the area was outside the reservation, Colonel Graham did not appreciate the situation. He wrote the City saying that Central Avenue led to the Presidio's principal carriage entrance (freight wagons used the Lombard entrance) and had been improved to enable citizens to enjoy visits to the reservation. Presumably order was restored and the street again became passable.[13]

Until 1894 little attention had been paid to the sloughs and marshes in the lower Presidio. That year the quartermaster had repairs made to the bridge that crossed the slough on the road leading to the Presidio wharf. At the same time the wharf received extensive repairs because of the rock that would be arriving from Angel Island for the new barracks. Also, an artillery officer asked permission to use a "certain piece of ground in the swamp" for a garden. One of the principal uses of the lower Presidio continued to be the disposal of refuse. The gulls and tides disposed of kitchen refuse, while manure filled holes and ravines.[14]

Above: Lombard Street gate. In early Presidio days this was considered the main entrance. By the 1880s it was used largely by freight wagons and the like. Around 1900, it was again considered a principal entrance. Gate posts, fence and iron works were built in 1897. The Arguello Boulevard entrance gate has similar stone posts. *NPS photograph by Gordon Chappell, June 1990.*

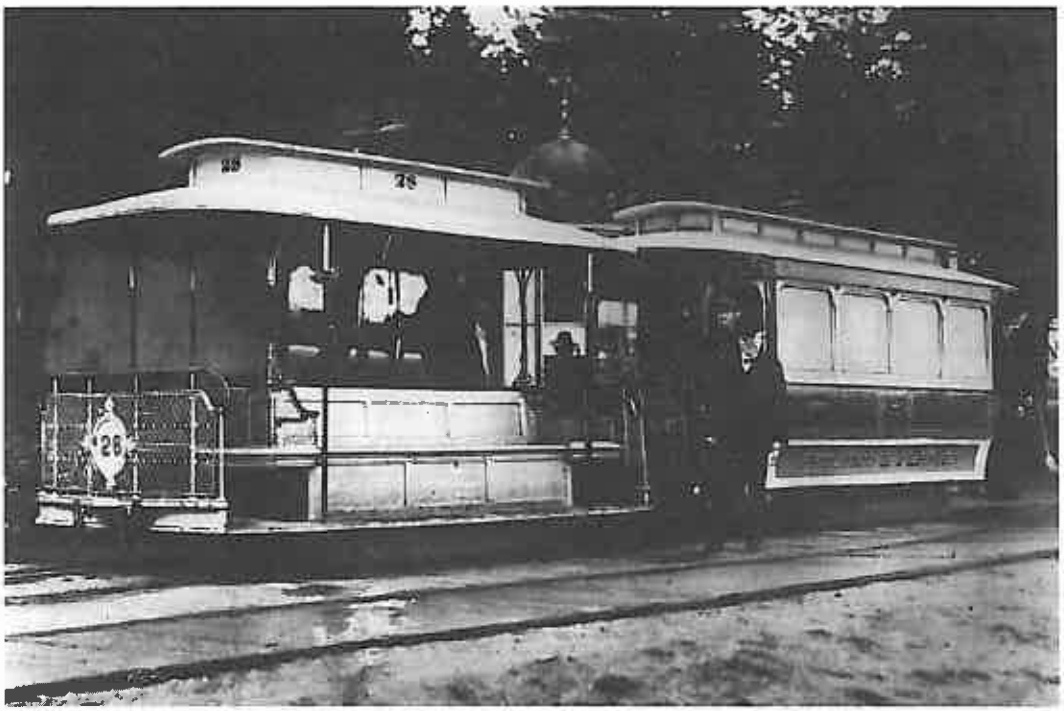
Below: Sandstone gate post, Lombard Street entrance, 575. The crossed sabers were inspired by cavalry insignia, with the addition of saber belt with dyer plate, crossed revolvers, and wreath. *NPS photograph by Gordon Chappell.*

In 1894 the number of cavalry troops at the Presidio doubled from two to four. This increase, added to the horses of the two batteries of light artillery and the quartermaster's animals, greatly overcrowded the stable facilities on the bluff at the north end of the main post. Additional stables had already been added: one set in 1889, probably for a light artillery battery, cost $3,729; cavalry stables in 1891, cost $4,483, and a second one for the cavalry in 1894. Nonetheless, the post quartermaster continued to protest against cavalry horses in his stables. He suggested that those horses could be kept in the quartermaster corral on the beach in the lower Presidio. In 1896 the Army prepared an estimate for filling in a portion of the eastern part of the lower presidio for future stables. Despite Colonel Graham's objections to having stables in that area, a contract for fill was let to one John Keeso. At the same time both Alcatraz and Army Engineers were removing sand from the beach.[15]

Lt. Col. Anson Mills prepared a document in 1891 that outlined the Presidio's communications system with the world outside its boundaries. He said that the post office received mail deliveries twice a day, at 9 A.M. and 2:30 P.M. Post headquarters housed a telegraph station. Three means of transit were available: the Union Street cable line connecting with the railway dummy train direct to the post, the Jackson Street cable line to the border of the reservation, and steamer *McDowell* that touched at the Presidio wharf three times a day. The dummy cars ran every 15 minutes and the cable cars between 3 and 8 minutes.[16]

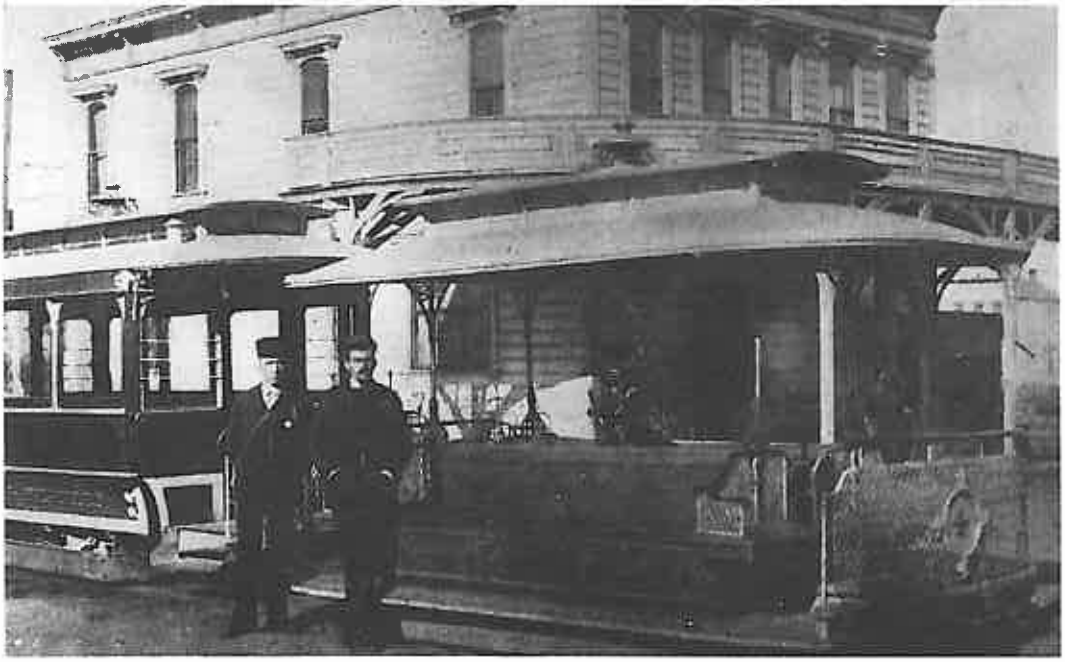
During the Civil War the Army had built a masonry magazine [95] behind the guardhouse. In 1892, however, Colonel Graham became concerned about its location. He said it had become surrounded by wooden structures. Should a fire occur in one of these buildings it could endanger the magazine with the possible loss of lives. He recommended a new magazine be constructed away from the built-up area. A later building form dating from the 1930s listed a brick magazine measuring 16 feet by 35 feet as having been constructed in 1893. Graham had suggested that a suitable location for the new magazine was in the vicinity of today's intersection of Park and Lincoln boulevards (the formal entrance to Fort Winfield Scott).[17]

A multitude of other construction activities crowded the Presidio's calendar in the 1890s. In 1892 the Presidio and Ferries Railroad abandoned the portion of its line that lay within the Presidio reservation and terminated it at the Harbor View Resort. In its place the company constructed a cable railroad that entered the Presidio at Greenwich Street and ran northwestward, terminating just short of the post hospital [2]. The post quartermaster submitted a requisition for material to build a sidewalk to connect the garrison with the terminus of the cable



Above: Presidio and Ferries cable railroad, 1892-1906. Grip car no. 28 and trailer no. 5 are shown at the Terminus, Presidio of San Francisco, circa 1893. This cable car system replaced the "steam dummy locomotive" line in 1892 and lasted until destroyed by the earthquake of April 18, 1906. *Presidio Museum Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Below: Grip car no. 4 and trailer coach no. 33 somewhere in San Francisco between Columbus Street and the Presidio, about 1895. *Presidio Museum Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*



Above: Quartermaster storehouse, 223, of brick, on the east side of Halleck Street. Completed in 1898. Records described it as both a clothing storehouse and a subsistence storehouse. North and west elevations. *NPS photograph by Gordon Chappell, June 1989.*

Below: Brick storehouse, 227, on the east side of Halleck Street. Completed in 1897. Records identified it as a quartermaster storehouse. West and south elevations. *NPS photograph by Gordon Chappell, June 1989.*

car line. Later the superintendent of the Presidio and Ferries Railroad Company received a request to place a cover over the platform at the terminus of the car line for the protection of passengers during the rainy season.[18] In 1896 the Presidio began construction on a new rifle range in the southwest corner of the reservation, an area then called Frenchman's Flat. The earthen butts were located toward the west end of the range. Beyond them was a triangle of land outside the reservation, between it and the ocean. Colonel Shafter and his successors recommended that the federal government either purchase or lease that area in order to prohibit wanderers. Otherwise, the Army might be forced to close the range should someone complain of rounds going over the butts and endangering life. The record is silent as to what solutions may have been found.[19]

In earlier years the authorities had to contend with illegal treasure hunters searching in vain for hidden Spanish treasure on the reserve. In 1896 came a different kind of hunter. John R. Green of San Francisco requested permission to prospect a rich ledge of "cinnabar or quicksilver" rumored to exist on the Presidio about 1 mile south of Fort Point (perhaps in the vicinity of Rob Hill). It appears that the idea died a sudden death. It was at this time that Telegraph or Redoubt Hill acquired the name Rob. Colonel Graham wrote A. T. Rodgers, U.S. Coast Survey, asking him to provide the height of the Survey's bench mark "Rob" for the purpose of locating artillery fire control stations† for the modern armament being emplaced.[20]

Maj. W. H. Heuer, Corps of Engineers and the West Coast Lighthouse Engineer, wrote the Presidio asking permission to construct a water catchment for the Light House Service. He had selected a site that lay south of the fort at Fort Point and north of gun emplacement 7 in East Battery. Graham approved, providing it did not interfere with any future armament in the area. New construction in 1897 included two brick storehouses, one for quartermaster supplies and one for commissary. These buildings [223 and 227] lined Halleck Street. In the same area a bakery having two ovens [229] was constructed at that time at a cost of $4,200.[21]

Two other structures built in the 1890s [201 and 204] were among the earliest substantial structures to be built in the lower Presidio. While contemporary correspondence concerning them is lacking, the earliest surviving building records described building 201 as first being a forage storehouse completed in 1897. Later it became part of the post exchange. The earliest records described its neighbor [204] as having been completed in 1896 as a storeroom. Later it, too, became part of the post exchange. In 1990 it housed the Presidio Thrift Shop.[22]

The post quartermaster touched on an interesting note in 1897 when he said that the only paved gutters were those along Montgomery Street in front of the new brick barracks, along the new road from the Arguello entrance westward to the water pumping station, and along another new road near the national cemetery. He recommended that all gutters be paved along all the main drives of the main post and the vicinity.[23]

Sutlers and Canteens

After the War of 1812 the Army authorized sutlers, or traders, to sell supplies that were not government issue items on army posts. The secretary of war appointed these persons who had a monopoly on the post, a council of administration determining their prices. Also, the sutler paid a portion of his profits into the post fund. Among the goods offered, alcoholic beverages were freely available in the early days. At the Presidio, the sale of alcohol was part of an effort to discourage soldiers from patronizing neighboring bars. As time passed, the emphasis was on beer and wine rather than hard liquor.

Beginning at least in the late 1860s, Angelo Beretta served as the Presidio's popular post trader. He operated an excellent establishment of twelve rooms in his building west of the Civil War barracks. His large family lived nearby. In 1885 the Army approved Beretta's plans for a handsome new residence that he built on the south end of and in line with the married men's quarters. In 1888 the Army ordered him to remove his sign that advertised the sale of beer, wine, and other liquors and replace it with "Angelo Beretta Post Trader." A year later the Presidio received word that the post tradership might be abolished and that army-operated canteens would be established. The Army's adjutant general asked for comment on the proposal. The Presidio's Council of Administration replied that Beretta should remain:

> There had been no complaints against him.
> He had invested large sums of money in his store and residence.
> The store had provided a resting place for visitors to the Presidio.
> He had served the post well over a long period of time.[24]

The secretary of war decided in 1889 to abolish the post traders and to proceed with canteens. When pressure was applied to Beretta to cease selling alcoholic beverages in December, he replied that he had stopped serving hard liquor and requested permission to sell beer and wine until the canteen opened. The ax fell on January 20, 1890, when the Army revoked his license. Beretta quickly asked the Army to purchase his buildings. Colonel Langdon reviewed

the situation. Since there would not be an incoming trader to whom Beretta could sell and since the Army was under no obligation to buy the buildings, Beretta faced a considerable loss. Langdon did think the residence could be readily adapted to an officer's quarters and $1,200 could turn the store into a much-needed storeroom.[25]

A board of officers took up the subject, agreeing with Langdon that the Army could use both buildings, the store being suitable to replacing the Presidio's small canteen already in operation. It placed the value of the buildings at $5,000. The Secretary of War approved the purchase "when funds are available." Beretta continued to operate his business until the matter was settled. Alas, he also continued to sell alcoholic beverages. In July 1890 he received an order to close the store. Matters still pending, he asked permission to allow the temporary use of one room for meetings of the George Sykes Post of the Grand Army of the Republic. He acquired approval along with a warning not to sell liquor or anything else.[26]

In June 1892 Washington announced the purchase of Beretta's buildings for $3,000 (residence $2,500, store $500). The store became the canteen and the residence was converted into a duplex for noncommissioned officers.

A committee of noncommissioned officers offered a few suggestions for the operation of the canteen, such as a separate room for the noncommissioned officers, and that privates, then earning $13 a month, be limited to a credit allowance of $2. Later, when the term "canteen" changed to "post exchange" the committee offered more suggestions:

1. The beer then sold was inferior and should be changed to either Milwaukee or St. Louis.
2. Present system of drawing beer was unsanitary.
3. There should be free fresh vegetables at the lunch counter.
4. Crackers should be kept on the lunch counter in the bar room.

The Post Exchange Council approved 1 and 2, disapproved 4, and changed 3 to read potatoes.

When the time came to plan the construction of the new brick barracks in 1894, it became necessary to relocate the former sutler's residence. It was moved to the west, to a site behind the brick barracks [101] and was eventually given its current number, 116. The old store contin-

The Beretta residence, 116, after it was purchased by the Army and converted to noncommissioned officers' quarters. In this circa 1940 photo the front porch is shown as glass enclosed. By 1994, the porch had been removed altogether. West and south elevations. *Quartermaster Building Record Book, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

ued to serve as a canteen post exchange although far from satisfactory, being "miserable and unclean." In 1894 the exchange officer reported that the men preferred San Francisco's Buffalo Beer, especially a brew named Columbacher. Colonel Graham, prodded by an inspector general, directed that the building's interior be made more attractive. Then disaster struck. At 2 A.M., June 24, 1895, fire destroyed the greater part of the building, including billiard tables and furniture.[27]

Fort Point

In 1891 the Corps of Engineers began a construction program on the Presidio headlands that resulted in the modernization of the coastal defenses of San Francisco Bay. While the masonry fort at Fort Point continued to mount guns, its obsolescence became all the more apparent. The post–Civil War East Battery also retained some older-model guns, but West Battery was almost wholly obliterated by the new works. The Civil War quartermaster buildings at Fort Point continued to serve but also to deteriorate. The Army had moved three of

the more substantial buildings — the two barracks and a storehouse — to the main post at the Presidio.[28]

The families of married enlisted men continued to live in the damp quarters of the fort for a time. A newspaper reporter called Fort Point the most desolate place on the peninsula and these quarters "dark, damp, and dismal." The third tier of the casemates no longer had guns mounted and the laundresses used it for drying clothes. By 1893, however, these families had moved out of the old fort. Still, tourists visited the point on Sundays and still the Presidio's artillerymen provided guard details and fired salutes when dignitaries visited San Francisco. The engineer in charge of construction, Col. George Mendell, reported that all the engineer buildings had grown old and were in poor condition. One of his junior officers lived, at least-temporarily, in one of the officers' quarters on the bluff.[29]

In contrast to Mendell's observation on the engineer buildings, a lieutenant reported in 1893, "The houses near the dock, viz the blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, mortar-shed, lime-house, store-house, and drying shed are in fairly good condition." Not so the married men's quarters at the post. One of the Presidio's surgeons inspected "the settlement known as Fort Point" in 1894. He said that the buildings were damp, dirty, and crowded, and many women and children were sick. This report stimulated more inspections. In 1896 the department's staff quartermaster recommended that all the nonengineer buildings be destroyed, except one set of officers' quarters (possibly DeRussy's). He said eight of the buildings containing 42 rooms housed eleven privates, two corporals, and one sergeant. Also, a soldier's widow, Mrs. Conglan, occupied a room. None of these people was authorized to occupy rooms. An ordnance sergeant and a civilian forage master occupied another building of 16 rooms. Only the sergeant, in charge of the old fort, was entitled to furnished quarters.[30]

Colonel Graham objected strongly to the removal of the buildings, saying they were required for public use (the married men were mostly from his regiment). The future would see many changes at Fort Point, especially as the engineers' work intensified. But later maps of the area indicated that at least the four sets of laundresses' buildings, originally the mess halls and kitchens, remained for a time.[31]

Tidying the Boundaries

In 1892 Colonel Graham wrote a description of the Presidio. Among the details, he noted that a small piece of land had been taken from the Presidio for the Rancho Ojo de Agua de Figueroa claim. The story began before the American acquisition of California when Apolinario Miranda petitioned for a lot of land 100 varas (about 100 yards) square in 1833. After the Presidio's boundaries had been established, Miranda's heirs appeared before the U.S. Board of Land Commissioners in 1854 laying claim to the land that extended into the east boundary of the reservation. The case wound its way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled in favor of the claimants in 1864. Yet the dispute lingered. Finally, in 1875 the U.S. Land Office informed the Army Engineer Department that despite the Army's surveys of the east boundary, the land claim was valid and that particular area was indeed outside the Presidio's boundaries. Not until a map of the Presidio was prepared by Maj. William Harts in 1907 did that small indentation on the eastern boundary in the vicinity of Green Street appear on military maps of the reservation.[32]

The southern boundary of the Presidio made the news again in 1892 when the same claimants who had been denied their claims years earlier appealed to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors for a solution to the case saying that since the earlier decision they had continued to pay the city taxes on the claims, an amount now reaching $50,000. A citizen who opposed this new issue said that the claimants had continued to pay taxes in the hope that the U.S. Congress would finally recognize their claim of title. The supervisors refused to take any action in the matter, and that was that.[33]

For 50 years the State of California had claimed the tidal lands on the Presidio's water boundaries. For 50 years the Army had acted as if the marshes and sloughs of the lower Presidio were part of the reservation. The construction of the modern coastal defense in the 1890s, including batteries overlooking San Francisco Bay, may have been the catalyst to a solution. At any rate, in March 1897 the State of California enacted legislation that gave the United States title to the lands extending from high-water mark out to 300 yards below low-water mark for any military or naval purpose or for defense. It had taken time and energy, but now the city, state, and federal government agreed on the area known as the Presidio of San Francisco.[34]

The Presidio Golf Course

The Scots originated the game of golf toward the end of the European Middle Ages, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. King James IV of Scotland enjoyed the game early in the sixteenth century. Not long thereafter his granddaughter, Mary Queen of Scots, introduced golf to the French court. The British, through their empire, introduced the game first to India, then to Canada where the inhabitants formed the Royal Montreal Golf Club in 1873. Fifteen years later, in 1888, Americans established their first formal club at Yonkers, New York, calling it the Saint Andrews Golf Club. It had six holes. The game quickly spread and in 1893 the Chicago Golf Club constructed the first 18-hole course.[35]

Organized golf came to California in 1893 when the Burlingame Country Club came into existence. Two years later a group of San Franciscans created the San Francisco Golf and Country Club and with the permission of the Presidio's commanding officer, Col. William M. Graham, constructed a 9-hole course on a sandy plateau on the reservation near its southern boundary and between the Marine Hospital and the present Arguello Boulevard.[36]

The records contain only a little information concerning the early years of the golf course. Until the Spanish-American War the Army made little use of the southern portion of the Presidio, preferring to carry out military drills on the plateau of fairly level ground east of the main post. With the construction of Letterman General Hospital and camps for volunteers heading for the Philippines in that area between 1898 and 1902, less and less space remained for drills. The Army turned to the area of the golf course for use as a drill field even though the steep climb from the main post put a particular burden on the light artillery.

Col. Jacob B. Rawles, commanding the Presidio in 1902, described the golf links. He said that the area had formerly been a barren land of deep sand without a blade of grass. The golf club had managed to smooth the terrain and with ample applications of fertilizer had introduced grass. Many of his officers and their ladies enjoyed the "healthful and exhilarating game." He had held reviews of the Infantry troops on the space but had hesitated to use the area for cavalry or artillery drills as they would quickly cut through the sod.[37]

A few other items concerning the early club have survived. In 1899 the post commander directed a gatekeeper to allow the club's wagons on the reserve. A formal review held on the course in 1902 caused an order to be issued regulating citizens' carriages: "the portion of the course to be occupied by the troops will be kept clear of visitors." When President Theodore

Roosevelt visited San Francisco in 1903, the Presidio went all out, ignoring any damage to the sod. Two troops of cavalry acted as the President's permanent escort throughout his visit. (They left for summer duty in the National Parks immediately thereafter.) On May 13 Roosevelt reviewed the command (more than 1,200 troops) on the Presidio Golf Links. Construction of modern coastal gun batteries at the Presidio progressed steadily during these years and in 1903 the engineers constructed Battery Chamberlin (6-inch guns) in southwest Presidio. Lincoln Boulevard had not yet been built in that portion of the reserve, and the contractors ran their wagons across the golf course making a thoroughfare of deep ruts. Finally, the engineers ordered them to stop using that route or any other where there were no roads.

Col. Charles Morris, Artillery Corps, became commanding officer of the Presidio in October 1903. Unlike Rawles, Morris had no hesitation about the cavalry and artillery using the golf course whenever necessary. General Orders 1, January 11, 1904, announced the inspection and pass in review of all Presidio troops on the golf links on both January 15 and 20. Possibly responding to criticism, he wrote higher headquarters in the spring that he frequently used the course for tactical requirements without restrictions when he needed to for any military purpose whatever. In a letter to the secretary of the San Francisco Golf and Country Club he explained that he regretted ordering the razing of bunkers on the course, but it was necessary for military reasons (a review on the following day). Inspections and reviews on the golf course continued during the remainder of the time the San Francisco club continued to use the area, possibly contributing to its decision to move in 1905.[38]

The San Francisco Golf and Country Club departed on August 1, 1905, for greener fields farther south where it established an 18-hole course. Even before the club departed, officials in San Francisco's insurance industry, on June 28, 1905, formed a new golfing organization they called the Presidio Golf Club. The first roll call counted 31 charter members. Antoine Borel had just purchased the clubhouse of the San Francisco group that stood just outside the Presidio, and the new club rented the small building from him at $25 per month. The first president of the new club, Bernard Faymonville, held a position in the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company. Colonel Morris, still in command, seems not to have as much to say about the presence of the new club nor did his commander, Maj. Gen. Samuel S. Sumner, Pacific Division, who was soon to retire. As before, there was no formal signing of documents. The club continued to manage the course from across the road, and army officers were free to use the facilities of the clubhouse.

As Morris found it more and more difficult to hold drills in the area of the main post, he relied increasingly on the golf course for reviews and major inspections. He wrote President Faymonville in 1906 that the new club would enjoy the same privileges as the old one had but the club would experience disappointment and discouragements resulting from military use of the links.

The former club had arranged to have an opening made in the masonry wall on the south boundary of the course. This opening was on the north side of West Pacific Avenue directly across from the clubhouse. Morris said the new club could continue to use this opening if it promised to close it when it departed (the entry remained in 1994).

Apparently an inspector general in 1905 had questioned why a golf course existed on a military reserve. Morris penned a lengthy response saying that while he did not particularly like holding drills on the site, there simply was not room for the artillery and cavalry to drill elsewhere on the reserve. He did not wish to cause the wanton destruction of the course. Rather, his officers had enjoyed pleasurable and healthful exercise on the links for years. Unless he received orders to the contrary he would continue to preserve the integrity of the links, but not so as to interfere with military formations, drills, and exercises. He said that the former San Francisco club had spent up to $20,000 in the care and preservation of the links. It had kept the grass cut short, preventing fires and making the area suitable for reviews.[39]

Following the infamous earthquake of 1906, the Presidio Golf Club gave serious consideration to disbanding, all the members' energies being consumed by the immense insurance situation. In January 1907 Engineer Maj. William Harts referred to the area as "the portion formerly used as golf links."[40]

Immediately after the quake the Army established four camps on the Presidio reservation for refugees from the city. It placed one of these camps on the golf course, adjacent to the southern boundary. Harts, in his plans for the future, set aside the area containing the golf course for a large mobilization camp should a national emergency arise.[41]

Eventually, however, the Presidio Golf Club renewed its activities. Concerning those early years one learns that caddie fees amounted to 25 cents for the nine holes; green fees came to 50 cents a day or $2.50 for two weeks; and dues were a hefty $10 per month. One could order a drink in the clubhouse for 15 cents, or a dozen donuts for 10 cents.

Presidio Golf Course, circa 1923. *National Archives photograph.*

The course contained four grass-covered greens and five sand greens (sand traps galore). Dirt and oil mixed together formed the tees. The only areas watered were the four grass greens. The rest of the course displayed California gold for most of the year. Par stood at or about 68.[42]

The Presidio Golf Club undertook a major expansion in 1910 when it enlarged the course to 18 holes. In 1921 it took another major step and hired a firm of British golf architects to improve and lengthen the course. During all these years the informal agreement continued whereby both the members of the club and the military officers enjoyed the ambiance of both the clubhouse and the greens. As far as the scant records reveal, the two groups got along extremely well. The civilians bore the cost of the golf course, despite its being on a military reservation, and of the clubhouse across the way. Officers paid dues to the club and received the privileges of the clubhouse. This happy, if unusual, arrangement continued until 1912.[43]

On July 26, 1912, the Presidio commander, Col. Cornelius Gardner, received a War Department letter that ordered him not to use the Presidio for a golf course. Reacting quickly, the club recruited Franklin K. Lane, soon to be the secretary of the interior, and

Congressman Julius Kahn to argue its case. Kahn informed the club in August that the War Department had permitted continuation of the course to February 1, 1913.[44]

What exactly happened on that date has not be determined. Apparently the secretary of war directed that the privileges that had been granted to the Presidio Golf Club be rescinded. Maj. Gen. Arthur Murray, commanding the Western Department, received authority to use the golf course for officers, their families, friends, and former members of the Presidio Golf Club. Murray was to delegate to Colonel Gardner control and operation of the course. Despite the mystery of the meaning of "former," the Presidio Golf Club learned that, in fact, it could use the course as long as there was no interference with the Army. It seemed that nothing had changed.

Things happened in other ways. In March 1913 Army officers formed the United Service Golf Club (all armed forces officers) and presumably assumed responsibility for the operation and maintenance of the course. In fact, an arrangement was reached in which the Presidio Golf Club continued to collect all dues and its members received certificates stating they were "invited" members of the United Service Golf Club. While on the surface the Army now had control, affairs continued as they had. Then, in 1925, an inspector general uncovered the situation and again the secretary of war directed the Army to regain control. He authorized the Presidio commander to operate the golf course, to organize a club, and to permit such civilian membership as he deemed appropriate. Lt. Gen. Robert N. Young, Sixth U.S. Army, on reviewing the documents in 1956 wrote, "So far as I can tell, this directive has never been complied with. The civilian membership feel that they have a vested right to the golf course even though it is on a military reservation."

And so affairs continued. The key committee for managing the course, the Greens Committee, added a couple of army officers to its roster. During World War I the United Service Golf Club faded to near obscurity while the Presidio Golf Club continued to collect and disburse funds. On one occasion the Presidio commander volunteered the services of army tanks to help contour the 12th hole. In the 1930s when the Works Progress Administration established a tree nursery on the Presidio, 15,000 of the saplings managed to find their way to the golf course. And so it went through two world wars.[45]

General Young found himself in an embarrassing situation in 1955 when the golf course greenskeepers went on strike — a picket line on a military reservation! But Young soon found

a way out of the golf course issues. The course had long been in need of a new automatic watering system. The Presidio Golf Club, aware of this need, realized that it could not afford such a major expense. The club approached General Young asking for welfare funds for the project. The general replied ruefully that he could not use welfare funds because the Army did not control the operation. After due deliberation the Presidio Golf Club agreed that the Army should take over the operation of the course and that the civilian club would continue to manage the clubhouse. The United Service Golf Club members would have all the privileges of the clubhouse, and the members of the Presidio Golf Club would assist in the management of the course. General Young must have sighed with relief as he approved the arrangements.[46]

The United Service Golf Club, organized as an army "sundry fund" activity, managed the course from 1956 on. Its membership was comprised of active and retired officers of the Armed Forces living or stationed within 30 miles of the Presidio. Its Board of Governors promulgated the rules and regulations for the course. The Board consisted of a minimum of seven active duty officers elected semiannually. The commanding officer of the Presidio garrison received the Board's decisions and enforced the policies of the Sixth U.S. Army commander. In 1955 the combined membership of the two clubs had amounted to 810. By 1964 overall membership came to 1,200, a size that some considered to be almost unmanageable. In 1962, the army club changed its name to the Presidio Army Golf Club.[47]

In more recent times the Army has removed or demolished some of the temporary structures that were erected on the golf course over the years. One building, T-309, sometimes called the Caddie House and at other times the Golf Club House, was demolished in 1983. The California State Historic Preservation Officer made a determination of effect and concluded that it was an attractive nuisance that attracted vandalism. Also, it had been damaged by fire some time earlier and had been left unrepaired. Earlier, structures 306 and 467 had been removed. In 1993 the NPS determined that a small cluster of temporary structures in the southeast corner of the course were nonhistoric: a shop [300], storage shed [302] (Quonset hut), maintenance and storage [303], and administration [347] (also called a clubhouse).

In 1964 the Army discovered that the golf course had never been added to the Presidio's list of real property. The omission was quickly corrected: Item 71, June 30, 1964 — Golf Course, 18 holes, 149.6 acres, built 1905, "Found on Post."[48]

In 1985 funding and management of the golf course once again became matters for considerable discussion. The Army had introduced a "One Fund" concept for the various non-mission activities and facilities, such as the golf course, found throughout the system. The president of the Presidio Army Golf Club, Col. Michael J. Berry, requested that the golf course be exempted from this arrangement because of the unique relationship between the two clubs. The Presidio supported this request pointing out that the clubhouse, including the pro shop, was civilian owned and operated and stood on non-federal property. The golf course and its support activities were located on federal property. The privileges of these facilities extended to both clubs by an agreement of long standing.

The endorsement concluded, "This is already a potentially volatile subject and correspondence regarding a civilian attempt to gain control of the golf links recently reached the Office of the Secretary of Defense." Department of the Army civilian employees at the Presidio had not been allowed to join the army club because of the overcrowded conditions. If the golf course became part of the One Fund concept, these civilians would have to be admitted. Such action, in turn, would cause the Presidio Golf Club to mount an offensive. Certain members of that club had for years been trying to get control of the course. If they did, they would allow active military to play but prohibit retired military.

Meanwhile, Allan LeFevre, a member of the Presidio Golf Club, had written the Secretary of Defense (and fellow Californian) Caspar Weinberger. LeFevre sent a proposal called the "San Francisco Presidio Disaster Refuge" that would make the golf course a much-needed refuge in time of disaster. The Presidio Golf Club was suited to manage it because the facilities were originally conceived, constructed, and completed by the club, a civilian organization, under an earlier license from the secretary of war, and the club has been an enduring entity. The facilities have been continuously maintained and operated by the Presidio Golf Club and the Army.

The Presidio commanding officer countered that Public Law 92-589, 1972, that established the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, stated that "the Act preserves for public use, the Act provides for maintenance of needed recreational open space...the Act designates the Secretary of the Interior to manage resources and protect it from development and uses which would destroy the scenic beauty and character of the area." Also, in the event of a national emergency the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) can order federal assistance, not assistance from private sources. Predesignations of refuge areas were not normal consid-

Presidio Golf Course, 1991. *NPS photograph by Gordon Chappell, 1991.*

erations, "To predesignate a military golf course for such purpose, giving control to a civilian (private) entity appears unwise and loses the flexibility of military use for other higher priority military purposes."

Secretary Weinberger wrote LeFevre on April 29, 1985: "Your offer to establish an Emergency Disaster Refuge is appreciated. The Army has and will respond to emergencies. Thus, this particular resource is premature."[49]

The agreement between the Defense and Interior departments in 1993 called for the Sixth U.S. Army headquarters to remain at the Presidio for a period of time and retain control of the golf course. Then came the announcement in 1994 that the Sixth U.S. Army would be disestablished on or before September 30, 1995. The Presidio golf course would begin a new role at that time, as part of Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

In 1995 the venerable Presidio Golf Course reached the century mark. First established in 1895 it was the second golf links laid out in northern California and among the earliest courses in the United States. It had a unique beginning and history that involved a civilian club, an army club, and an ancient and historic military reservation in its development and operations. Beginning as a nine-hole course, becoming an 18-hole course in 1910, the Presidio Golf Course is truly of national significance in the history of outdoor recreation as well as in nineteenth and twentieth century military history. Here civil and military dignitaries, including presidents of the United States, reviewed the condition of the nation's soldiers. Here the generations have enjoyed the ancient and honorable game, golf.

Back in 1874 Maj. Gen. John Schofield had recommended to Congress that the Army retain all of the Presidio reservation, "because in the event of war all of it would be required for military purposes." In 1898 that requirement became a reality when the United States and Spain went to war against each other.

Chapter 9 Notes:

1. J. S. Oyster, Annual Report of Public Buildings, May 22, 1888; "Officers' Quarters at the Presidio," November 15, 1888, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

2. J. S. Oyster, November 20, 1893, to post adjutant, Register of Letters Received 1893, PSF, RG 393, NA; Officers' Quarters 1889, summary sheets of contracts, PSF, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

3. Langdon, January 12, 1890, to Department of California; Post adjutant, October 19, 1897, to quartermaster, PSF, Letters Sent; J. G. Chandler, March 29, 1893, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, PSF, 1892–1893, PSF, RG 393, NA; Field Officer's Quarters, War Department Form 117, Historical Records of Buildings, 1905–1935, PSF, U.S. Army Commands, 1920–1942, RG 394, NA.

4. Langdon, July 6, 1889, to War Department, Letters Sent; Graham, October 1, 1895, to Department of California, Register of Letters Received 1895, PSF, RG 393, NA.

5. J. S. Oyster, August 28 and September 14, 1888, to post adjutant; S. B. Holabird, December 13, 1888, to Division of Pacific, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

6. Post quartermaster, September 1, 1888, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1888; Graham, September 21, 1888, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

7. Langdon, January 12, 1890, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; J. S. Oyster, January 6, 1890, to Quartermaster General, in box "Presidio Land," PAM.

8. Graham, December 22, 1892, to T. M. Vincent, Letters Sent; Department of California, December 9, 1893, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, PSF, RG 393, NA.

9. Chief quartermaster, California, May 17 and November 16, 1894, and March 20, 1895, to commanding officer, PSF; Adjutant general, California, December 9, 1893, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, PSF,

RG 393, NA. In 1888 a 2,000-foot tunnel was dug into the hill at the head of this ravine in an attempt to locate water. It proved to be dry.

10. Chief quartermaster, Department of California, August 16 and December 18, 1894, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA; Summary sheets of Contracts, PSF, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

11. Post quartermaster, May 21 and August 24, 1895, to commanding officer, PSF; Quartermaster general, July 21, 1897, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received; Graham, July 31, 1895 and April 28, 1896, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

12. J. Jones, February 6 and 7, 1896, to Presidio officers; Graham, January 20, 1896, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

13. Graham, January 10, 1889, to City of San Francisco, and December 22, 1892 and June 10, 1895, to Department of California; E. Miles, June 3, 1897 to U.S. Marine Hospital; Lee, April 22, 1896, and June 1 and 17, 1896, Register of Letters Received, 1896, RG 393, NA; *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 1897, p. 367; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 11, 1895. While construction records for gates at the Presidio and Broadway entrances have not been located, the Presidio building records indicate they acquired new gates at this time. Seventh Avenue is no longer an entrance to the Presidio.

14. J. Miley, July 7, 1894, to commanding officer, PSF; S. B. M. Young, April 26, 1897, to Department of California, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

15. Summary sheets of contracts, 1889, 1891, and 1896; Construction expenditures, PSF, 1883–1896, CCF, OQMG, RG 92; Post quartermaster, ca. September 5, 1894, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received; Graham, July 31, 1895, to A. L. Robert; March 20, 1896, to Department of California; and September 19, 1896, to commanding officer, Alcatraz, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

16. A. Mills, July 23, 1891, to War Department, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

17. This structure has not been identified on any map. The building form contained a photograph of it along with the notation that it was "supposed" to have been moved to Fort Scott but the Army was unable to move it. Graham, September 12, 1892, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA; War Department Quartermaster Corps (QMC) Form 117, Historical Records of Buildings, 1905–1935, U.S. Army Commands 1920–1942, RG 394, NA.

18. Post quartermaster, November 29, 1892, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received; E. Miles, September 27, 1897, to I. F. Kydd, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

19. Shafter, December 12, 1896, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

20. J. R. Green, October 8, 1896, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received; Graham, July 7, 1896, to A. T. Rodgers, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

21. W. H. Heuer, February 28, 1895, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA; Summary sheets of contracts 1897, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

22. A Presidential order in 1895 established the Post Exchange (PX) system, a cooperative store to sell goods not issued by the government. Weigley, *History of United States Army*, p. 270.

23. Post quartermaster, May 7, 1897, to post adjutant, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

24. Coffman, *The Old Army*, p. 177; H. Harris, October 2, 1888, to Beretta, Letters Sent; Proceedings of the Post Council of Administration, February 18, 1889, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

25. Beretta, December 11, 1889, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received; Langdon, February 4, 1890, to War Department, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

26. Adjutant general, April 15, 1890, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Commanding officer, PSF, July 14, 1890; Beretta, April 21, 1891, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received; E. Hunter, July 16, 1890; Graham, January 10, 1891, to adjutant general; Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

27. Department of California, June 26, 1891, to commanding officer, PSF; Graham, February 7, 1894, to Department of California; M. F. Davis, October 20 and November 9, 1894, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received; Graham, April 15, 1891, January 11, 1892, January 15, 1894, and January 15, 1895, to War Department, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

28. The two barracks were moved in 1888, and the storehouse at some date before 1896. At the main post this building was called the quartermaster and subsistence storehouse and dispensary. It may have been Fort Point's two-story building 4 (no longer extant), the commissary storehouse. Its new location is unknown.

29. Mendell, reports of inspection, January and July 1890; H. C. Newcomer, January 8, 1892, to Mendell; G. H. Burton, February 5, 1892, to War Department, General Correspondence 1890–1892, OCE, RG 77, NA; Bearss, *Fort Point*, pp. 323–24.

30. C. A. F. Flager, January 19, 1893, to Mendell, General Correspondence 1893–1894, OCE, RG 77; C. E. B. Flagg, March 7, 1894, to commanding officer, PSF; Chief quartermaster, Department of California, July 10, 1896, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

31. Graham, July 8, 1896, to Department of California, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

32. To a casual stroller on Lyon Street today, the value of that slice of real estate is apparent by the elegant homes in the niche. Graham, November 5, 1892, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA; S. D. Burdett, April 22, 1875, to U.S. Surveyor General, San Francisco, Land Papers, OCE, RG 77, NA; Land Office, April 24, 1875, to Engineer Department, Bulky File, RG 77; J. E. Runcie, February 6, 1889, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

33. *Daily Alta California*, March 1 and 15, 1891.

34. An act relinquishing to the United States of America the title of this State to certain lands, March 9, 1897, Fortifications File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

35. [John G. Levison], *A Short History of the Presidio Golf Club, July 1964*, p. 1; Funk & Wagnalls, *New Encyclopedia* (1990). American colonists probably played an informal form of golf.

36. Levison, *Presidio Golf Club*, p. 1. Colonel Graham fought against tree planting in the southern portion of the reserve, but seemed to have no bias against golf courses.

37. J. B. Rawles, March 25, 1902, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

38. F. Harris, April 27, 1899, to Gatekeeper, 1st Avenue Gate; E. Millar, September 29, 1902; A. Todd, September 27, 1903, to District Engineer; Morris, April 12, 1904, to Department of California; Bergen, June 3, 1904, to B. R. Camp, Letters Sent; District Engineer, September 29, 1903, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1903; PSF, General Orders 1904–1905; Post Orders 1904–1905, all in PSF, RG 393, NA; PSF, Post Returns, May 1903.

39. Morris, June 3, 1905, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

40. Harts, "Report Upon the Expansion...of the Presidio," January 1907, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA. Harts wrote, "This area is occasionally used now for artillery drills and reviews."

41. General Orders 29, May 13, 1906, PSF, and map indicating the four refugee camps, Fort Point and Presidio Historical Association.

42. Levison, *Presidio Golf Course*, pp. 1–6; Burgen, June 3, 1904, to B. R. Camp, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Back in 1898 the San Francisco Golf Club had asked permission to connect a water pipe with the Spring Valley Water Works' main on First Avenue (Arguello).

43. Levison, *Presidio Golf Club*, pp. 5–6; Pamphlet by the Presidio Golf Club and the United Services Golf Club, 1957, 2 pages (Pamphlet).

44. Levison, *Presidio Golf Club*, p. 8.

45. R. N. Young, January 20, 1956, to Comptroller of the Army, PSF Lands, RG 338, NA–Pacific Sierra Region; Pamphlet; Levison, *Presidio Golf Club*, pp. 6 and 8–10. The British architects may have removed trenches reported to have been dug on the course during the war for training in trench warfare.

46. Young, January 20, 1956, to Comptroller of the Army; Pamphlet; Levison, *Presidio Golf Club*, p. 10.

47. Pamphlet; Levison, *Presidio Golf Club*, pp. 10–16.

48. PSF, Voucher Files, Fiscal Years 1963–1964, 1976, and 1984, Master Plans Office, Directorate of Engineering and Housing (DEH), PSF.

49. M. J. Barry, May 10, 1985, to commanding officer, U.S. Army Forces Command; C. J. Rittman, n.d., to FORCOM; Allen LeFevre, November 30, 1984, to C. Weinberger; E. D. Hawkins, February 6, 1985, to commanding officer, 6th Army; Secretary of defense, April 29, 1985, to LeFevre, all in PSF, Cabinet L-1, Master Plans Office, DEH, PSF.

Chapter 10. War and Insurrection, 1898–1905

The years between 1898 and 1905 witnessed intense activity at the Presidio of San Francisco as the United States extended its influence across the Pacific. Thousands of soldiers, dispatched from its camps, became acquainted with faraway lands including Hawaii, Guam, Japan, China, and the Philippines. These thousands returned to the ancient post, some to return to civilian life, others to continue their military careers. In addition caskets arrived at the Presidio pier to remain on the reservation until eternity. Another large chapter became a part of the Presidio's history.

The Philippine Islands, 1898–1901

> An' what shud I do with the Ph'lippeens? Oh, what shud I do with thim? I can't annex thim because I don't know where they ar-re. I can't let go iv thim because some wan else'll take thim if I do.
>
> *Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War*, p. 44.

Cuban insurrection against Spanish rule began in earnest in 1895. The voices of Cuban exiles in New York City, abetted by the American press, heightened Americans' concern with the Spanish administration, which was seen as corrupt and inefficient. On February 15, 1898, battleship USS *Maine*, ostensibly on a mission of friendly courtesy, blew up in Havana Harbor. Regardless of the cause of the explosion, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution four days later proclaiming Cuba free and independent and authorized President William McKinley to use land and naval forces to expel Spain. When another four days had passed the President called for 125,000 volunteers. And on April 23, 1898, the Congress declared that the United States had been at war with Spain since April 21.

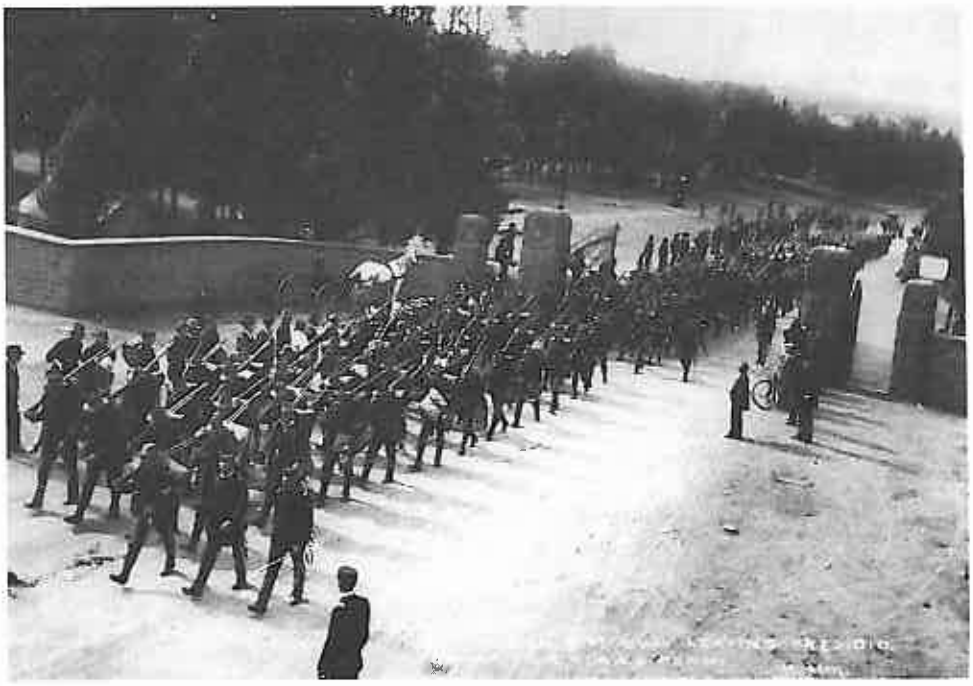
In the far Pacific the exiled Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo had already become the titular head of an insurrection against the Spanish administration in the Philippine Islands. European powers, Germany in particular, and Japan, along with the United States, had been watching developments in that archipelago. With war declared, the United States made the decision not to liberate the islands, but to occupy them. The U.S. Asiatic Squadron, commanded by Cmdre. George Dewey, entered Manila Bay and defeated the Spanish naval forces on May 1. Not knowing of Dewey's successes, President McKinley authorized the assembling of army troops at San Francisco. On July 31 these troops mounted a campaign against Manila, the capital, and completed the occupation of it two weeks later.[1]

Above: Brig. Gen. Marcus P. Miller and his staff, followed by the regimental staff, leading the 51st Iowa Volunteer Infantry through the Lombard Street gate to SS Pennsylvania at an Embarcadero pier, November 3, 1898, en route to the Philippines. Later, a coastal battery at the Presidio was named in his honor. *Hodson photograph, Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Below: With the colonel commanding, the regimental staff and band, 51st Iowa Volunteer Infantry, followed General Miller through the Lombard Street gate en route to a ship, 1898. *Hodson photograph, Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Above: Companies of the 51st Iowa Volunteer Infantry departing the Presidio for San Francisco en route to the Philippines, November 3, 1898. *Hodson photograph, Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Below: Last four companies, 51st Iowa Volunteer Infantry, leaving the Presidio via the Lombard gate. The 51st Iowa was one of the last volunteer regiments to leave San Francisco bound for the Philippines, November 1898. *Hodson photograph, Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

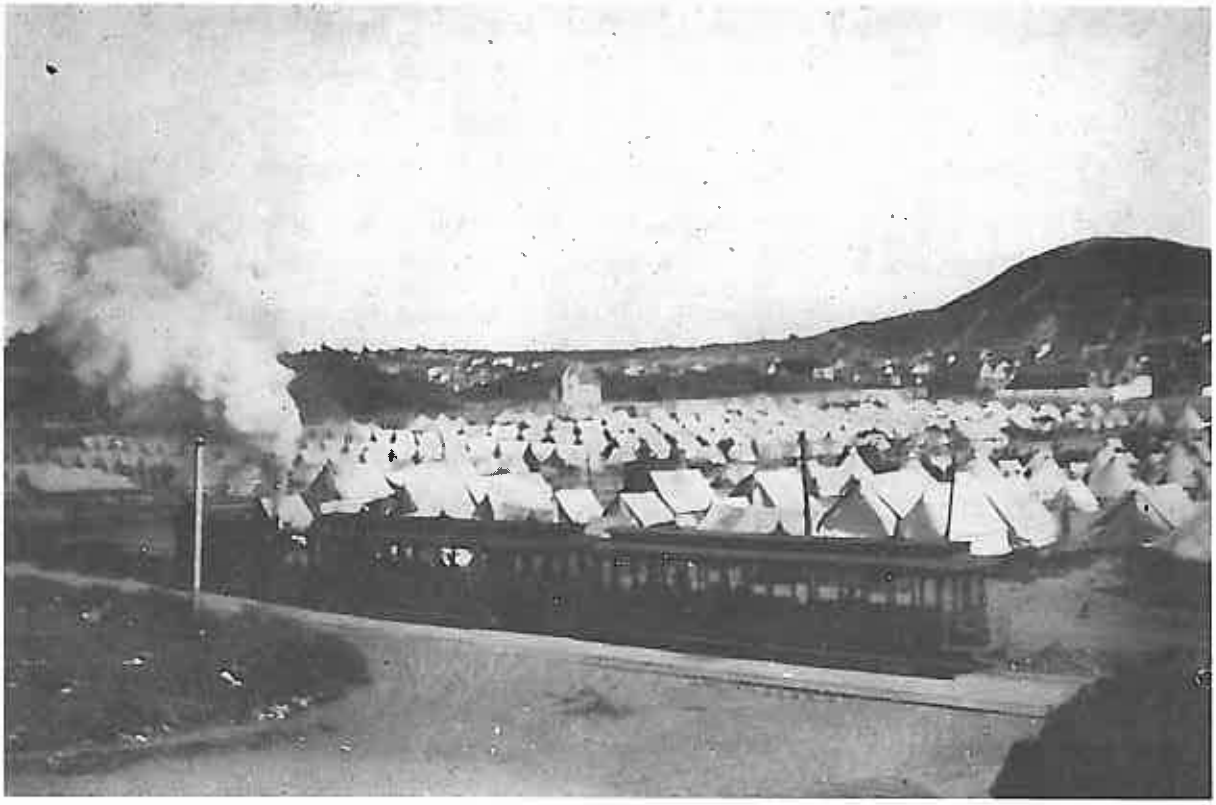


The Presidio of San Francisco had begun a series of changes even before the order calling for the assembly of troops at San Francisco. In March several troop units had transferred to the east coast. The artillery troops moved out of the brick barracks and moved into a tent camp at Fort Point. While the March returns had counted 41 officers and 872 men present, the figures for April accounted for only 11 officers and 231 men, all of the 4th Cavalry.[2]

The first volunteer troops arrived at the Presidio in June — Battery B, California Artillery; four companies of the 6th California Infantry; and four companies of the 1st Washington Infantry. For the time being the Presidio counted these units as part of the regular Presidio garrison. Also in June a tent camp sprang up on the reserve near the eastern boundary named Camp Miller for Marcus Miller, recently appointed brigadier general of volunteers, who took command of all volunteers still at San Francisco in July 1898. A miscellaneous return completed for this camp in July showed it was occupied by 13 officers and 399 enlisted men: 1st Battalion, Heavy Artillery, California Volunteers, and Battery A, Light Artillery, Wyoming Volunteers. Camp Miller had already dispatched the 6th Artillery Battalion with 12 pieces of field artillery and elements of the 1st Battalion, Light Artillery, Utah Volunteers, to the Philippines.[3]

Meanwhile, large numbers of volunteer troops, nearly all infantry, poured into San Francisco beginning in May. The vast majority of these occupied a tent camp hastily set up immediately to the south of the Presidio, between it and Golden Gate Park and west of today's Arguello Boulevard, a locality called the "Bay District Tract." Part of the site apparently had once been a cemetery, and more recently a racetrack. First Avenue (Arguello Boulevard), Sixth Avenue, Fulton Street, and Balboa Street formed its boundaries. All things considered, this Camp Merritt was a thoroughly miserable location, vividly described by its occupants. Maj. Gen. Elwell S. Otis arrived in San Francisco in May to take charge of these troops that formed the Philippine Expeditionary Force until the arrival of Maj. Gen. Wesley Merritt later that month.[4]

Otis and the other commanders faced two great problems at San Francisco — supplies and shipping. The San Francisco depot quartermaster had already shipped the bulk of his supplies to the east coast for the invasion of Cuba, leaving his shelves nearly bare. Suitable ships for transporting the troops across the Pacific were hard to find and many men sailed under miserable conditions. A member of the 2d Oregon Infantry on board *Australia* in the first contingent described the terrible food, running out of drinking water, and an outbreak of measles. They had left San Francisco before receiving all their clothing and equipment.[5]



During the Spanish-American War volunteer regiments occupied Camp Merritt, south of the Presidio. In the foreground, a train of the narrow gauge Ferries and Cliff House Railroad, with the tank locomotive pushing two cars, heads out what in the future will become the western portion of California Street to a terminus near the Cliff House. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

When the 1st Tennessee Infantry reached Camp Merritt in June they found a vacant block of sandy ground but no shelter or food. They remained almost two months in "this unhealthy, ill-drained, wind-swept locality" before moving to the Presidio. Eleven men died from diseases there. A soldier in the 1st Nebraska Infantry wrote that while his outfit enjoyed the amenities of Golden Gate Park and San Francisco, the camp was cold and dark most of the time. At one point the Army removed the straw bedding as a sanitary measure, and the troops then slept on the hard ground. Lieutenant Martin E. Tew, 13th Minnesota Infantry noted that Camp Merritt had almost 200 men on sick call one morning. He complained of the incessant, unending, and wearing drill the raw soldiers had to endure.

Another lieutenant, from the 1st Montana Infantry, wrote of the endless sand, the fleas, and the thick fog at night. He said that the drilling was held in the Presidio itself, on a sloping hillside overlooking the Pacific Ocean (either today's golf course or perhaps future Fort Scott parade ground). One of the more detailed accounts came from the pen of Capt. F. W. Medbery,

1st South Dakota Infantry: "The site selected for our camp had not the most promising appearance imaginable. It was a lot enclosed by a board fence and containing sand of an unknown depth and rank sagebrush. The place was swept by the ocean breeze. It was usually chilly at night and...really cold on account of the fog." His regiment, too, drilled at the Presidio, "The field used for a drill field was not level and the grass was short and slippery, yet we marched back and forth upon it five hours each day...by companies, by battalions, by regiments, and on one occasion by a whole brigade." He said that no member of that outfit would ever forget the two months at Camp Merritt.[6]

Joseph I. Markey, 51st Iowa Infantry, penned a lengthy account of life at Camp Merritt. He recalled arriving in San Francisco by ferry and being given a lunch by the Red Cross. The regiment then marched to the camp where the sand moved like snow. He recalled that the drinking water was excellent and that the surrounding hills were beautiful, covered with flowers and trees. He noted three large cemeteries nearby — Laurel Hill, Calvary, and Masonic. The regiment lived in old tents that housed seven men each. At night the soldiers placed rubber blankets on the wet sand and rolled up in woolen ones. By morning uniforms would be damp from the humidity. Markey discovered bits of human bones and coffin fragments on the site, mailing some of these souvenirs to a former teacher.

Soon sickness set in, with more than 1,390 cases showing up at sick report. The regimental surgeon declared the camp unfit for soldiers, but not before death claimed 10 men. Markey wrote, "A funeral here is a most impressive ceremony. Led by a band playing low, solemn music, pall-bearers and an army wagon with the corpse follow; then company officers and comrades of the dead, marching in slow cadence to the military burying ground, where a salute is fired by his mess mates." The Retreat Parade also fascinated him: "Roll call over, the band plays `The Star Spangled Banner,' soldiers stand at parade rest, and officers with hats removed and bowed heads."[7]

Volunteer Col. Frederick Funston, at that time a little-known officer, commanded the 20th Kansas Infantry Regiment. Soon to be known as the "Eternal Boy" and "Fearless Freddie," Funston had failed the West Point entrance examination in 1890. Later he joined the insurrectionists in Cuba. When war with Spain came, the governor of Kansas appointed him the regimental colonel — the first time he had worn a U.S. Army uniform. In a delightful account of life in San Francisco he told that the regiment, "the Kansas scarecrows," had arrived without uniforms. When the proper clothing did arrive, the dye promptly faded. Concerning the

The 1st Battalion, Utah Volunteer Light Artillery, and the 1st Battalion, California Volunteer Heavy Artillery, used these tents, a part of Camp Merriam in the Presidio of San Francisco around September 1898, prior to embarking for the Philippines. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

camp he said, "Everywhere was sand, sand, sand, deep and fine, blowing into tents, getting into food."

When General Miller assumed command of the camp, Funston paid his respects. The general looked up, smiled, and said, "Well, well. So you are a colonel are you? Sit right down on this box and tell me how anybody came to make a young chap like you a colonel." Funston also told of noticing an unschooled soldier wandering around carrying a bouquet of flowers. Seeing a general approaching, Funston yelled to the soldier, "Drop the flowers." The flustered soldier dropped his trousers.[8]

At the end of July 1898 the commanding general of the Department of California, Brig. Gen. Henry C. Merriam, authorized the closing of "damp, cold, and unclean" Camp Merritt and the reassignment of the remaining volunteers to the Presidio of San Francisco. At the same time the tents of the Division Field Hospital came down, and the sick, too, moved to the Presidio where an army general hospital would soon be erected.

Not all the volunteer regiments got their early training at Camp Merritt. The 1st Battalion of the 1st Washington Infantry arrived in San Francisco by steamer in May 1898. Instead of marching to the camp the battalion occupied the large, brick Fontana warehouse just east of Fort Mason. The San Francisco depot quartermaster had leased this structure for housing army supplies well before the war. Later the 2d Battalion arrived. These troops realized they

"Tents Down in 1 Minute." The 51st Iowa Volunteer Infantry preparing to break camp at the Presidio (Camp Miller) in November 1898 prior to sailing for the Philippines. *Hodson photograph, Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

had more comfortable quarters than their brothers at Camp Merritt. Before leaving for the Philippines the 1st Washington also moved to the Presidio.[9]

The existing Camp Miller became part of the new tent camp that a low ridge divided into two sections (Miller being toward the Presidio's eastern boundary and the other being in low ground east of the Presidio's officers' row). Because the 1st Tennessee Regiment camped on this latter ground, the area came to be called Tennessee Hollow. The Army named the entire tent installation Camp Merriam for the department commander. An incomplete accounting showed that at least the following infantry units occupied the camp before embarking for the Philippines: 20th Kansas, 51st Iowa, 1st Tennessee, 1st and 7th California Infantry, a portion of the California Volunteer Artillery, 2d Oregon, 13th Minnesota, and the 1st New York. Joseph Markey from Iowa thought the grounds of the Presidio beautiful. He described the nearby officers' quarters as pretty little cottages with nice yards. Cannon balls lined the street curbs. Best of all, his tent had a wooden floor.

Presidio of San Francisco, 1898, during the Spanish American War. Upper left, brick barracks, today numbered 103, 104, and 105, with Golden Gate Strait in the background; center, beyond line of trees, camp of the 7th California Volunteer Infantry; right, beyond trees, camp of the 20th Kansas Volunteer Infantry; right foreground, camp of the 51st Iowa Volunteer Infantry. Most of the camp of the 1st Tennessee Volunteer Infantry is concealed, in this view, in the ravine later called Tennessee Hollow, center left *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

The health of the troops rapidly improved. New uniforms arrived: two white duck suits, one light brown duck suit, a cap, a cork helmet, light garrison shoes, and two suits of light woolen underwear for each soldier. The entire 51st Regiment took a train to Stanford University where its football team beat Stanford 6 to 0. Later the team tied the University of California 0 to 0. All good things must end, and by the end of October 1898 Camp Merriam lay almost deserted when the balance of the volunteers sailed for the Philippines.

When the soldiers thought back on the early days of Camp Merritt they recalled how the ladies of the Bay Area, particularly a Miss Uri and a Mrs. W. T. Vietch, had come out to visit the sick. Mrs. Vietch, a member of the Oakland Red Cross, opened a convalescent home for the men. Soldier Markey never forgot the 30 female nurses who cared for the patients in the field hospital. Another soldier told of a Mrs. A. S. Townsend of San Francisco, who devoted time and money ($60,000 on Camp Merritt alone) to the welfare of soldiers on their way to and from the Philippine Islands. Markey also remembered one more thing. "We have hopes

"Fix Bayonets." Company K, 51st Iowa Volunteer Infantry, undergoing training at the Presidio, here fixing bayonets, prior to shipping out to the Philippines, during the Spanish-American War, 1898. *Hodson photograph, Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

that at some time the truth will come out as to who is responsible for Camp Merritt's existence and that the guilty will not go unpunished.[10]

While the volunteer regiments trained at Camps Merritt and Merriam, the internal affairs of the Presidio of San Francisco continued in a normal fashion. While the post commander had no authority over Camp Merritt outside the reservation, he did include Merriam's troops on the Presidio's post returns, at least while Brig. Gen. Marcus Miller, commanded both the post and the camp. In July 1898 the post returns counted more than 2,000 men present for duty. In addition to the regular troops, the Presidio inherited a few volunteer units not associated with those scheduled for the Philippines.

A squadron of the regular 4th Cavalry departed for the Philippines in July, leaving but two troops, B and M, for duty. The 1st Troop of the Utah Volunteer Cavalry arrived to add to the national parks' protective forces. (It mustered out at the end of the year.) The 3d Artillery, camped "on the heights" at Fort Point, lost two of its four batteries to the Philippines in August. To care for and guard the new heavy guns and mortars at Fort Winfield Scott, three

Camps of the 1st Troop, Utah Volunteer Cavalry, and a troop of the Nevada Volunteer Cavalry at the Presidio in 1898. Utah tents are in the foreground, Nevada tents to the rear. The Utah Cavalry carried out a one-month patrol to Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks in the fall of 1898. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

companies of the 8th California Volunteer Infantry joined the artillery troops. Three other organizations then at the Presidio completed the garrison: a battery of the Utah Volunteer Light Artillery, a troop from the Nevada Volunteer Cavalry, and a battery of the Wyoming Light Artillery.

As autumn approached, General Miller wrote down his thoughts concerning winter quarters. He said that Batteries E and I, 3d Artillery (9 officers and 395 men) could occupy two of the brick barracks when they came back from Fort Winfield Scott. The Division Field Hospital already had taken two and a half of the brick barracks. The 4th Cavalry (6 officers and 194 men) continued to occupy its two barracks, today's 86 and 87. He could put the three companies of the 8th California Infantry and the Utah light battery in four of the old wooden barracks. The two old two-story light artillery barracks at the north end of the parade held the personal property of units then in the Philippines. They could be cleaned out to make room for the Utah cavalry. As for the other volunteers, space would soon be available for them on Angel Island.[11]

April 1899 brought considerable changes in the Presidio garrison. All the volunteer units had departed, and in their place came the field, staff, and band, and three companies of the Regular Army 2d Infantry Regiment. The Presidio now had two bands, the 4th Cavalry's having arrived in 1898. The 3d Artillery's strength doubled this month with the organization of "Battery O," which with Battery I returned to Fort Winfield Scott for the summer months. Troops B and M, 4th Cavalry, sailed for Manila in May. Not until August did a troop from the 6th Cavalry arrive for duty in Yosemite National Park, where it remained until December. A second troop arrived at the Presidio in September, but whether Sequoia had a cavalry detail that year is unknown.

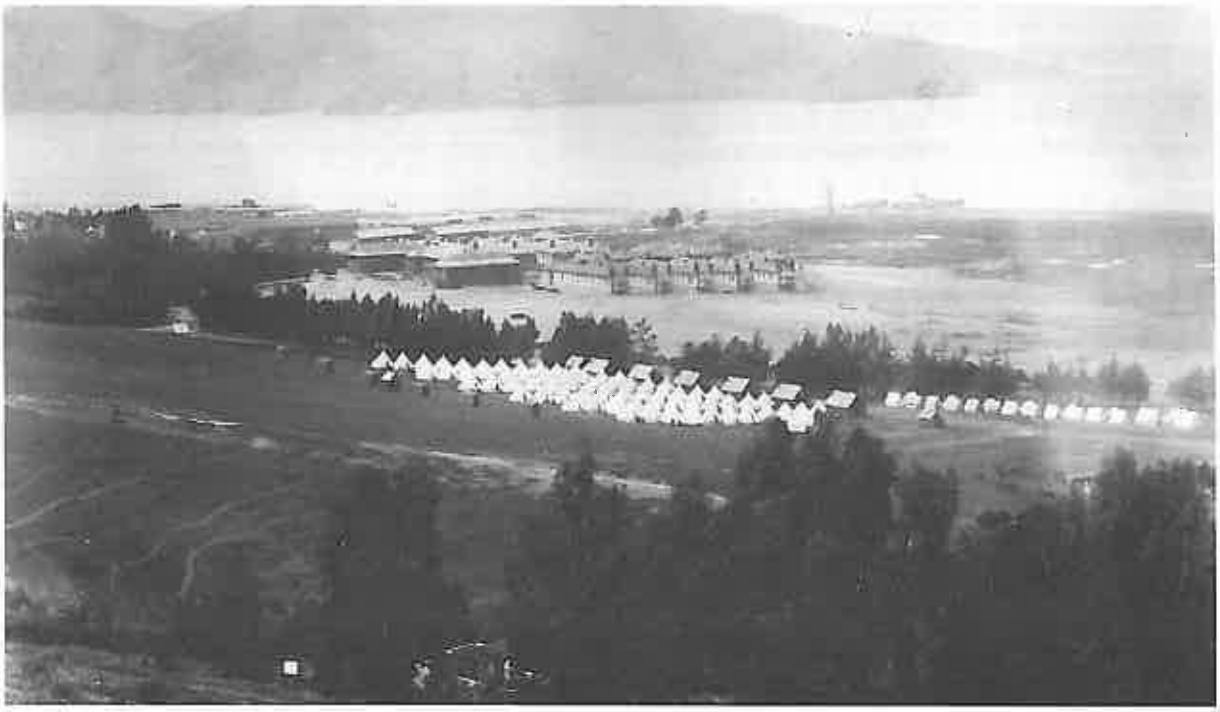
Units of the 24th Infantry Regiment (black soldiers) and their chaplain, Allen Allensworth, began arriving in May for a brief stay, departing for the Philippines in June and July along with troops of the 25th Infantry (also black). In March 1899, 24 new volunteer infantry regiments were added to the Army, which numbered them 26 through 49. One of these, the 30th Infantry, U.S. Volunteers, called "Red Necks" because of their red ties, camped briefly at the Presidio in September. They had target practice "on one of the best rifle ranges in the country," and participated in a dress parade for General Shafter who "was too portly a build to make an impressive figure on horseback." On September 23 a band played "Apple Blossom" when the 30th Volunteers marched through San Francisco to a waiting ship.[12]

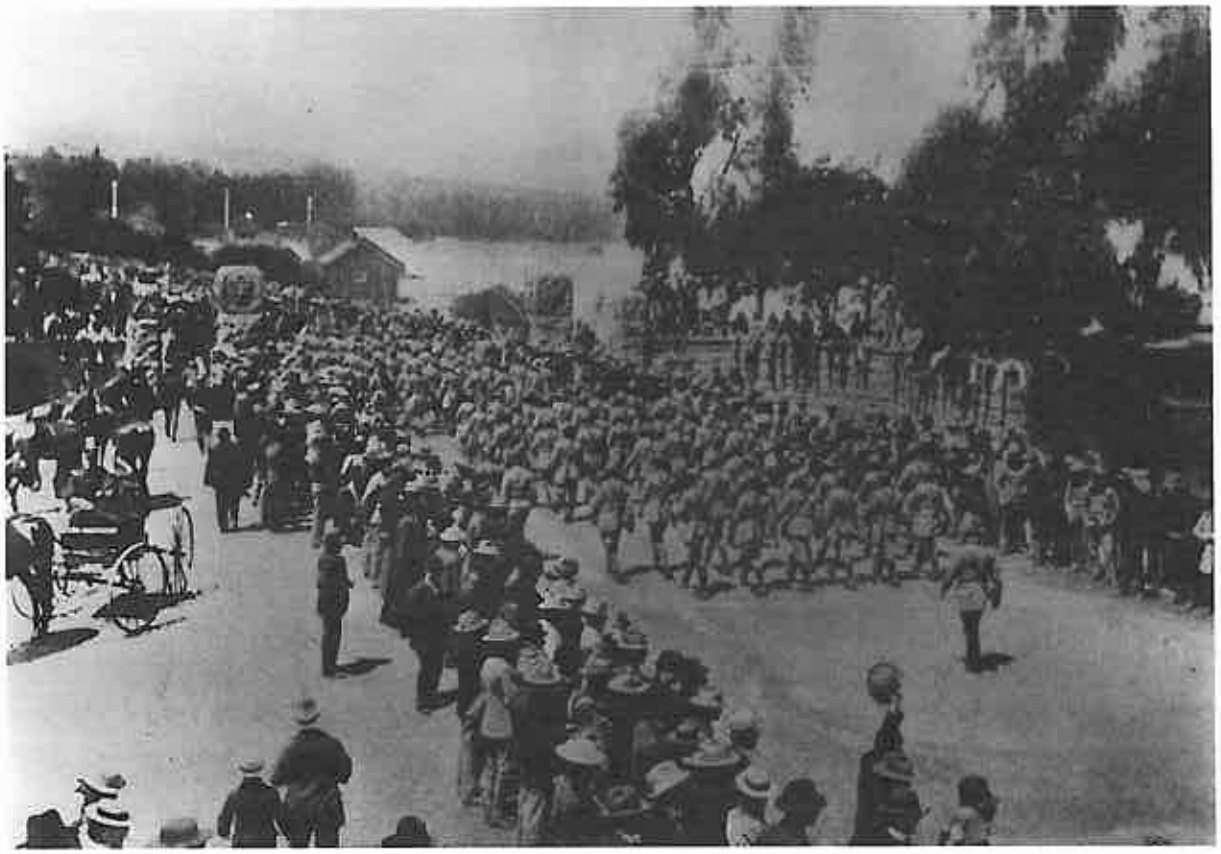
By the summer of 1899 the occupation of the Philippines had turned into guerilla warfare. New personnel figures appeared on the Presidio's post returns — replacements for this new war. Meanwhile the Army set about improving the Presidio's Camp Merriam area for the return of the state volunteers. The secretary of war directed the establishment of a "model camp" for the returnees capable of holding 4,000 troops at a time. In his annual report the secretary recorded that $29,000 had been spent on the improved facilities.[13] Between July and November 1899 nearly all these regiments disembarked at the San Francisco piers. Those who had known only Camp Merritt received a pleasant surprise when they first saw the Model Camp, as it was now called.

The 51st Iowa's historian wrote that General Shafter himself, with cavalry and artillery, led the regiment on a parade from the pier up Market Street to Golden Gate Avenue, down Van Ness, then Lombard to the Presidio. Company M still had its two dogs, Bob and Dewey, who had gone overseas the year before. At the post the brick barracks were familiar to the regiment

Above: Presidio of San Francisco, 1898. Camps of the 51st Iowa and 1st New York Volunteer Infantry. *W. C. Billington photograph, Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Below: Presidio of San Francisco, circa 1900 or 1901. The new U.S. Army General Hospital is beyond the tent camp. Quarters on officers' row were not yet built. The tents may represent the improved "Model Camp" prepared in 1899 for volunteers returning from the Philippines. *W. C. Billington photograph, California Section, California State Library.*





Utah veterans marching into the Presidio of San Francisco through the Lombard Street gate, probably after their return from the Spanish-American War in 1899. These men may be from the 1st Battalion, Utah Volunteer Light Artillery, though shown here without their guns. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

but nearby stood a new army general hospital. The hillsides were covered with round-topped tents pitched along well-kept streets with adjacent wooden kitchens and other buildings.

The 1st Idaho Infantry left Manila on July 29. The ship was quarantined for two days at Yokohama, Japan, because of measles. Arriving in San Francisco Bay on August 29, the regiment marched to the Presidio, only "quite a number were unable to stand the walk, and made the trip on the street cars." Pvt. James Camp wrote that at the Model Camp the Sibley tents on the warm hillside had board floors and a small stove heated each. Another soldier wrote that on the voyage home his ship had good food. It stopped at the Nagasaki coaling station and at Yokohama. At San Francisco, "We marched to Camp Presidio where we lived pretty good. The people from San Francisco brought us good food to eat."

When the 13th Minnesota entered the Golden Gate on September 7, their state governor greeted them and tendered a banquet for the officers at the Occidental Hotel. The governor of Oregon also came down to welcome home the 2d Oregon Infantry. A lieutenant in the 1st Montana Infantry told of the cheering crowds on Market Street. As for old Camp Merritt and the new Model Camp, the difference was "something marvelous."[14]

When the 1st Nebraska reached the Presidio, customs officials inspected their baggage. For the first six evenings the regiment had a dress parade. After that idea was abandoned, the men led a life of ease for the rest of their stay, enjoying the "first class" food. While the city welcomed all the heroes home, the loudest cheers went up in August when transport *Sherman* entered the Golden Gate bearing the veterans of the 1st California Infantry:

> The *Sherman* was the center of the finest naval parade known in the history of the harbor. All the boats in the bay were decorated with flags....that night came a grand display of fireworks on land and water. The morning of the 25th the regiment landed at Folsom-street Wharf, all men wearing neat khaki uniforms and shining equipment. From there they marched to the ferry building...for breakfast.

Then the regiment, accompanied by an almost unnoticed volunteer regiment of Coloradans, marched to the Presidio. The city's celebration lasted three days. An army officer stationed in San Francisco witnessed the event: "Market Street is ablaze with bunting and bad painting, softened by a forest of palms and other evergreens through its whole length...streets overhung with miles of electric lights."[15]

The occupation of the Philippine Islands had not gone smoothly. When General Otis led American troops into the capital city of Manila in August 1898, the Spanish forces willingly surrendered to him but refused to recognize the Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo. A university graduate, Aguinaldo had long been a leader of Filipino insurgents against the Spanish regime. He had gone into exile in 1897 and had returned with Commodore Dewey. He became provisional president of a new Philippine Republic in September 1898 and in January 1899 was elected president by a revolutionary assembly.

The treaty of peace between the United States and Spain on December 10, 1898, did not recognize a Philippine republic or Aguinaldo but ceded the islands to the United States. The insurgent Filipinos suffered a great disappointment. Early in February 1899 Aguinaldo declared war against the United States and a force of 40,000 Filipinos clashed with Otis's

12,000 American soldiers. Fighting spread throughout Luzon and other islands. Guerilla warfare continued through 1899 and by the end of the year U.S. forces had increased to 47,500. A year later 75,000 American soldiers were engaged although the fighting was greatly reduced by then. Col. Frederick Funston personally captured Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901, but not until July 4, 1902, did President Theodore Roosevelt announce a conclusion to the insurrection.[16]

Nearly all the troops going to and coming from the Philippines during these years, whether organized and numbered units, unassigned replacements (casuals), or raw recruits, spent time at the Presidio's camps. The replacements for the Philippines evolved into two groups, the casuals, consisting of officers and men going overseas as replacements, and the recruits, the new soldiers not yet assigned to units and little trained in soldiering. This latter group was referred to as the Recruit Depot.

Generally the Presidio of San Francisco's post returns did not note the Regular Army regiments en route to the Pacific; only the new U.S. volunteer regiments that partially organized at the Presidio appeared on the returns. Individual replacement men and recruits appeared only as total monthly numbers. Usually, however, the returns did list casual officers by name. While at the Presidio these officers assumed duties as commanders of enlisted men awaiting transportation. A special post return in May 1899 showed the regimental replacements and the unassigned recruits:

Unassigned recruits	640	14th Infantry	275
4th Cavalry	163	18th Infantry	498
3d Infantry	1	20th Infantry	8
4th Infantry	12	21st Infantry	1
6th Infantry	60	23d infantry	398
9th Infantry	6	3d Artillery	164
12th Infantry	5	6th Artillery	7
13th Infantry	2		
		Total	2,240[17]

By then the casuals had been organized into six companies and a portion of them temporarily occupied the Presidio's old wooden barracks, the Model Camp being crowded with returnees. Others crowded into the portion of the camp known as Tennessee Hollow. A surgeon inspected this area in May 1899 and found the sewage system deplorable. The ground, always damp, had been inflicted with "human exhalations, kitchen refuse, and other poi-

sons." He recommended that the tents be moved to higher, sloping ground and that a new sewer be constructed and connected to the sewer for the new general hospital.[18]

The large numbers of soldiers at the Presidio caused the post commander to close temporarily the library and reading room that were being overwhelmed. Some relief came in May when the Red Cross erected a large tent furnished with 350 chairs, some tables, and magazines, newspapers, and writing materials. Likewise, the post hospital could not cope with the increasing numbers on sick call. All the sick in the Casual Detachment received instructions to report to the new general hospital.[19]

In September 1899 Lt. Col. Stephen Jocelyn, stationed in San Francisco as the chief mustering officer, wrote: "There are a lot of new volunteers passing through to the Philippines — two regiments arrived yesterday — and we shall have a considerable army there by November 1st — a much better force to work with than the state volunteers, the very last of which I am now discharging."[20]

In a typical letter concerning troops for overseas, the post commander reported in February 1900 that 255 men departed (infantry, cavalry, artillery, and hospital corps). An army vessel transported them from the Presidio wharf to a transport ship. At that time eight Filipinos, destitute and stranded, waited at the Presidio for passage home. In April 1900 the post commander, Lt. Col. R. I. Eskridge, published a summary of the Presidio's activities since the beginning of the war. He said that the Presidio had become the most important post in the U.S. Army, forming a defense of the Golden Gate with 52 modern defense guns and mortars. The Presidio garrison amounted to nearly 1,000 men. The post processed all the regulars and volunteers going to the Philippine Islands. It handled recruits, furloughed soldiers, and discharged men. All the sick returning from the Pacific passed through the reservation, and the remains of deceased soldiers were received there. In addition, animals destined for the far Pacific were handled at the post. Some statistics:

Number of troops camped or stationed at post since April 25, 1898	about 80,000
Number of remains received	1,093
Number of animals shipped to Philippines	6,324[21]

In another letter Eskridge indicated that the camp had been divided into three parts: the Model Camp proper for returning volunteers, the Casual Camp for unassigned personnel

going overseas, and a Regimental Camp for regiments transferring to the Philippines. Together they contained 440 wall tents, 1,185 Sibley tents, 114 hospital tents, 124 kitchens and 124 dining rooms, 38 bathhouses, 132 latrines, 11 storehouses, and 1,777 heating stoves.[22]

General Shafter in his annual report for 1900 recorded that 1,368 officers and 39,003 enlisted men had shipped out of San Francisco, and 709 officers and 13,291 men had returned from overseas. The quartermaster had shipped 5,131 horses and mules to the Philippines and China. As for the Presidio's own artillery troops, so many had gone overseas only enough remained to keep the guns cleaned.[23]

In 1901 new infantry regiments were constituted at the Presidio. In March the 1st Battalion (Companies A, B, C, and D) of the Regular Army's 30th Infantry Regiment organized as a provisional battalion. A month later officers assembled at the Presidio for assignment in seven U.S. volunteer regiments — 26th, 28th, 29th, 32d, 35th, 39th, and 45th. The number of casuals varied from month to month throughout 1901, the largest number being recorded in December — 93 officers and 3,710 enlisted men. By the summer of 1901 all four of the Army's black regiments — 24th and 25th Infantry and 9th and 10th Cavalry — had processed through the Presidio at different times. (The 9th Cavalry Regiment was stationed at the Presidio from October 1902 to July 1904, and the 24th Infantry Regiment formed part of the Presidio garrison during the Panama-Pacific Exposition, from July 1915 to February 1916.)[24]

Infantry Cantonment 1902–1905

By the fall of 1901 it became apparent that some kind of formal basic training program for recruits should be established at the Presidio of San Francisco. The Army's adjutant general, Maj. Gen. Henry C. Corbin, wrote to the commander of the Department of California, S. B. M. Young, now a major general, of the need to establish a recruit camp at San Francisco for the necessary instruction and equipping of the large number of recruits soon to be needed in the Philippines. Their officers should be officers returning from the Philippines. General Young telegraphed Washington a few days later stating that the Presidio would have camping facilities available for 8,000 recruits on November 1, 1901. He warned, however, that the number would be reduced if the Presidio had to provide for soldiers returning from the Philippines. He said that he preferred to keep the recruits away from the influence of the men coming home for discharge and recommended that this group be processed on Angel Island where the temperature was milder for men returning from the tropics. Secretary of War Elihu

Presidio of San Francisco, circa 1900-1904. The tents in the foreground possibly are for officers either en route to or returning from the Pacific. Two quartermaster storehouses are located at the Presidio wharf. Post of San Jose (named Fort Mason in 1882) stands on the promontory, upper right. *U.S. Army Military History Institute.*

Root immediately approved. The future, however, would see Philippine veterans again training at the Presidio.[25]

The Presidio commander, Col. Jacob B. Rawles, appealed that December for additional civilian clerks in the "Casual Detachment" because of the increase in the number of recruits. The post returns for the first half of 1902 showed an average of 2,800 recruits per month in the Casual Detachment, which underwent confusing changes in nomenclature during this period: Model Camp, Regiments of Recruits, Detachment of Recruits and Casuals, and Model Camps 1 and 2. A quartermaster wrote in March 1902 that the Presidio had five camps in the eastern part of the reservation: one for regiments returning from the Philippines, one for organizations en route to the Pacific, a detention camp for recruits arriving with infectious diseases, and two for casuals and recruits undergoing instruction and awaiting transportation overseas. The capacity of the five came to 8,000 and by March 1902, 3,806 men had assembled. In April Colonel Rawles wrote that the recruits did not remain at San Francisco long enough

to obtain sufficient training. Also, the younger officers temporarily assigned to the recruits lacked experience. The time had come for a change.[26]

By the summer of 1902 the camp underwent another reorganization. Its name, now the Depot of Recruit Instruction, was a little misleading, for the complement consisted of the 7th and 19th Infantry returned from the Philippines. The depleted ranks of the two regiments were filled with the raw recruits and the regiments underwent training to make them effective military organizations once again.

It took time for these units to understand their relations with the Presidio. The camp commander, Col. Charles A. Coolidge, 7th Infantry, wrote Colonel Rawles saying that since his regiment (headquarters, band, and two companies at the time) was in permanent garrison, he requested suitable quarters for his officers. Rawles replied sharply that the 7th's orders directed it to take station "in the camp" of the Depot of Recruit Instruction and not in the Presidio's quarters or barracks. Further, the Presidio had no vacancies. Thus came the dawning that the recruit establishment was a post separate from the Presidio of San Francisco garrison, each reporting directly to the Department of California. Once again, the reservation supported two separate organizations. Coolidge then requested that nine hospital tents be fitted up for his noncommissioned officers and their families. The department refused the request saying that no facilities would be available for families. But quarters did become available, at least for officers' families.[27]

The first indication that the camp needed something more than canvas came later that month when Maj. Gen. Robert P. Hughes wrote to Washington saying that the Army had spent $60,000 on canvas at San Francisco since 1898 and something more permanent was required. He recommended the construction of temporary barracks of rough lumber, double-tier bunks, and small heating stoves for four battalions at the camp. It seems, however, that the Army did not construct the bulk of the wood-frame buildings until early 1904, incorporating them with the older wooden kitchens and mess halls surviving from the 1899 Model Camp.[28]

Later Colonel Coolidge wrote that 1,500 men of the 7th and 19th regiments had no recreation facilities unless they went into the city. The Presidio would not let them use its post exchange (for financial reasons), which was too far away, anyway. He asked for $8,000 with which to build an exchange and amusement room at the depot.[29]

In October 1902 Coolidge shed more light on the situation at the depot when he said that the 7th Infantry, including its 28-member band, had a strength of 843 enlisted men, and the 19th Infantry, 404 men including its 32-man band. A month later the depot began preparing its own monthly post returns. By mid-1903 the functions of the depot, renamed the Depot of Recruits and Casuals, had moved to Fort McDowell on Angel Island. In its place, in eastern Presidio, the former camp became the "Infantry Cantonment" on September 23, 1903. Its commander, Col. Charles H. Nobel, 10th Infantry, reported that the strength of the command stood at 72 officers and 1,217 men.[30]

The Infantry Cantonment carried out some of the same functions as the Depot of Recruit Instruction — the rejuvenation of the veteran regiments. When the 10th Infantry arrived it contained a large number of veterans, "old soldiers," many of whom received discharges in the months ahead. These men underwent training along with recruits in order to build the regiment back to full strength. These veterans still wore the cotton khaki uniform, now old and worn out, and they suffered in the morning fog and rain during military instruction in the Presidio. Because of their discomfort, Nobel preferred to hold the drills in the warmer afternoon weather.[31]

While the records contain little about the construction of the buildings at the cantonment in 1903–1904, they do disclose their temporary nature. A confidential report to the quartermaster general said that barracks, quarters, mess houses, etc., were being erected of light temporary wood-frame construction for two regiments. Thirty-eight buildings had been completed by March 1903 and 62 more were under way. Another report noted the construction of six bathhouses for $12,579; enclosing porches on captains' quarters for $4,055; plumbing field officers' and captains' quarters for $19,100; and a subsistence storehouse for $3,063.[32]

The 7th Infantry settled in what later became West Cantonment and the 19th Infantry in East Cantonment near the Lombard Gate. At one time the U.S. Coast Survey had a small building that served as quarters on the knoll between the two. The quartermaster and commissary buildings for the entire cantonment stood north of the cable car tracks, and north of the 19th Regiment.

Military families were definitely part of the scene when Nobel commanded. He considered the quarters for married lieutenants and captains to be mere shells in which every noise, including conversations, could be heard throughout each duplex. Also, the separate commu-

nity bathhouses were inadequate and an unnecessary hardship for the ladies. He proposed modest but separate bathrooms in the quarters. Another colonel commented on the toilet in his quarters. The style was such that the bowl flushed as one rose from the seat. The cataract-like rush of water and the noise embarrassed everyone in the house. Then there was the problem of how to flush urine.

Colonel Nobel wrote a letter in May 1904 explaining why the Infantry Cantonment had such a high desertion rate. First, he said, was the low quality of the recruits. Recruiting officers concerned themselves more with quantity than with quality. The result was a class of men who were of inferior character, many being mere nomads. Poor accommodations and deplorable surroundings also contributed. The men could see the Artillery and the 9th Cavalry troops over at the Presidio's main post with their good barracks, reading room, gymnasium, and so forth. The contrast with the cantonment's humble barracks caused discontent. Then, too, the numerous dives and saloons just outside the cantonment provided a source of evil. The veterans of foreign service had expected better when they came home, and when they first saw the post they were heartsick. While much had been done to improve matters much remained to be done, and the men felt this work fell on them.[33]

Efforts were made to increase morale. On Thanksgiving Day 1903 the cantonment celebrated with a Field Day — 100-yard dash, running broad jump, throwing baseball, 200-yard run, putting 20-pound shot, running high jump, equipment race, and a relay race. The command handed out cash prizes to the winners. In the afternoon the cantonment played a ball game with the Presidio, score unannounced. Nobel regretted that the cantonment did not have a gymnasium with the bad weather coming on.[34]

Rotation of the regiments continued with the arrival of the 28th Infantry from Manila under Col. Owen J. Sweet in January 1904, and the departure of the 10th Infantry in July that year. Four companies of the Philippine Scouts arrived from Manila in March 1904 and departed a month later for St. Louis, Missouri. Other units at the cantonment in 1904 included the 3d Squadron, 9th Cavalry, which transferred from the Presidio and remained at the camp for less than a month before heading east; a squadron of the 4th Cavalry; the 21st Infantry Regiment, and some individual companies from various organizations.[35]

A visit by an inspector general in the fall of 1904 revealed a few more details about the camp. It did not have a morning-evening gun. The camp stockade† for prisoners was nothing but a

high board fence that required a lot of guards. Individual cells did not exist. Some scrap lumber had been nailed to the bottom of the fence to prevent prisoners from digging their way out. Because of a lack of adequate quarters, the teamsters lived in tents in the stable area. The cantonment's last commanding officer, Col. Charles A. Williams, 21st Infantry, recommended no further construction of temporary buildings. If, he said, the cantonment was to be a permanent installation, a competent board of officers should prepare plans for an adequate two-regiment post.

No permanent plan developed. The men, veterans and recruits alike, made the best of a poor environment. Former Pvt. Peter Smith certainly tried to improve his lot. Court-martialed in the Philippines for selling army rations, he had spent six months in the Alcatraz military prison and received a dishonorable discharge. He arrived at the cantonment and got a job in one of the kitchens for his board and volunteer payments ($6 a month) from the soldiers of the mess. At the same time he performed as a musician in city clubs. Although working half the night, he was always the first in the kitchen in the mornings. The commander of the regiment implored the Army, twice, to take him back as a musician in the 10th Infantry regimental band. Alas, Smith's fate remains unknown.[36]

Colonel Nobel, despairing of the gin mills outside the gates and the desertion rates, knew that an army canteen on the post would ease the problem. He also knew that there would be no such establishment because of "the bigoted ladies of the WCTU [Women's Christian Temperance Union]. Statistics don't affect them." Another problem, apparently solved, involved a civilian dairyman who kept his cows in the cantonment. He received a 10-day notice to take his animals and leave.

Like the Presidio, the Infantry Cantonment had its "Service and Roll Calls."

First call	5:15 A.M.
Reveille	5:25
Assembly	5:30
Mess call	6:00
Sick call	6:30
Fatigue call	6:45
Guard mount	8:50
Adjutant call	as soon thereafter as possible
Recall from fatigue	11:30
1st Sergeants' call	11:45
Mess call	12:00

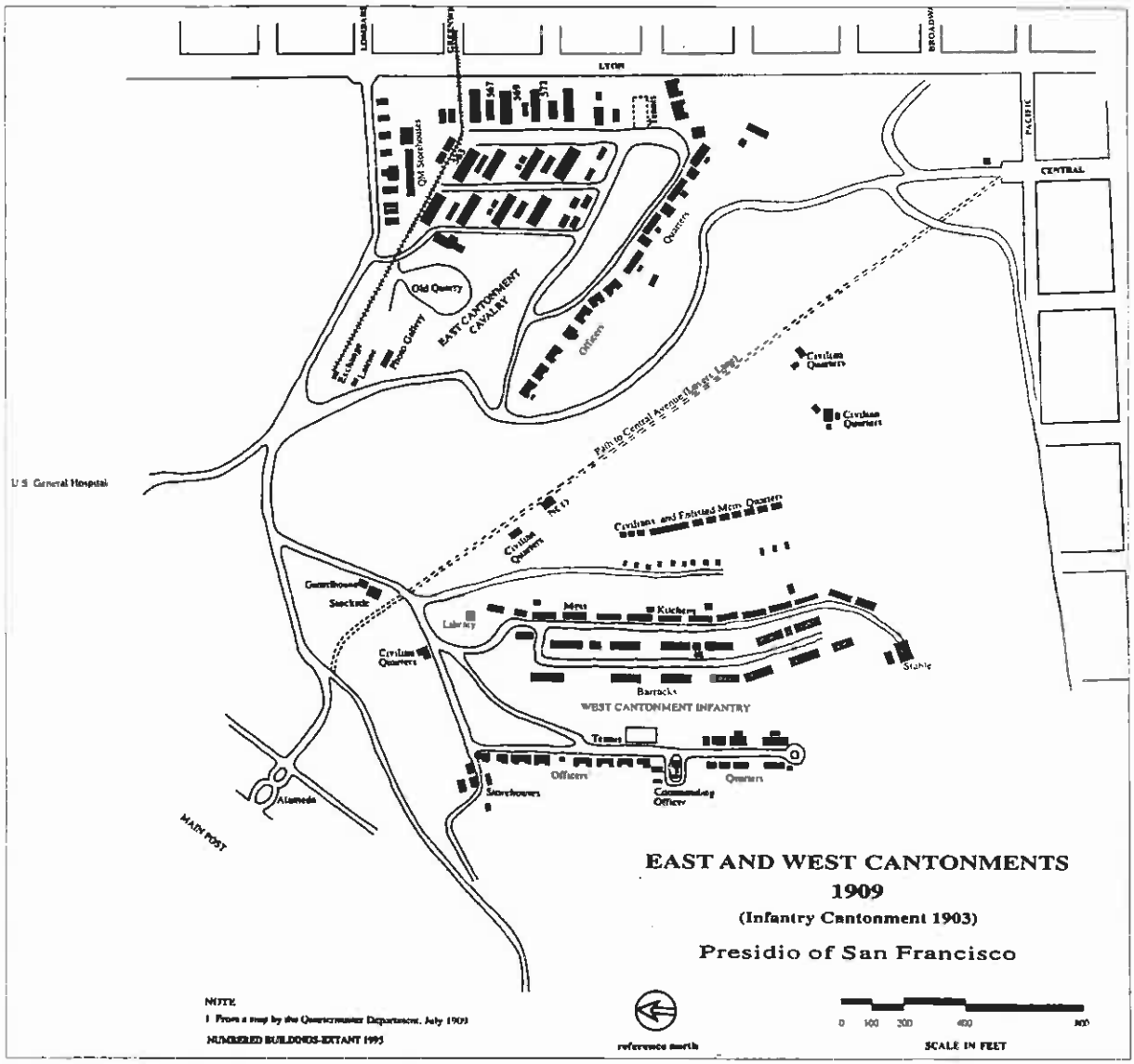
Fatigue call (prisoners)	1:00 P.M.
Recall from fatigue	5:30
Mess call	5:50
1st call Retreat	6:15
Assembly	6:25
Retreat	6:30
Call to quarters	10:45
Tattoo	9:00
Taps	11:00
Saturday: 1st call for inspection	8:50 A.M.
Assembly	9:00
Guard mount	immediately after inspection
Sunday: Church call	9:45 A.M.
Church call	7:15 [P.M.][37]

In November 1904 the cantonment chaplain opened a school that illiterates were required to attend, but others could take part if they wished. This undertaking was in addition to seven army schools giving instruction in 1904: five schools for training noncommissioned officers, one for privates, and one called the garrison school. For reasons known only to the Army, all seven schools met at the same hour in a building having four small classrooms. The commanding officer despaired, suggesting the idea of continuing the cantonment itself be taken under advisement by the proper authorities.[38]

The Infantry Cantonment prepared its last post return in January 1905. Without fanfare, or orders, it ceased to exist. The area returned to the control of the Presidio commander. Subsequent accounts continued for a time to call it the cantonment, and organizations traveling to and from overseas stations occupied its facilities during their usually short stays at San Francisco. In 1906 the area became formally named the East and West Cantonments. By 1909 the Presidio's garrison had grown extensively and the coast artillery companies occupied the main post; East Cantonment housed the cavalry troops; and infantrymen lived in West Cantonment. In 1994 only four of the original buildings [563, 567, 569, 572] remained, all in East Cantonment.[39]

Boxers and China

While the Presidio itself had little to do with the relief of the foreign legations in Peking [Pekin, or Beijing], China in 1900, one of its artillery batteries boarded the same ship that carried the commanding general of the "China Relief Expedition." Also, two cavalry squadrons spent two weeks at the Presidio before boarding that vessel.



National Archives, Record Group 92. NPS Drawing no. 641-20488.

By 1899 bands formed of Chinese, intensely patriotic and fiercely opposed to foreigners as well as to other Chinese who had converted to Christianity ("secondary foreign devils"), calling themselves the "Fists of Righteous Harmony." When this name was translated into English it became "the Boxers." In December 1899 an English missionary was murdered. European countries and the United States demanded that the empress dowager suppress the rebels. When the Chinese government took no action, the foreigners suspected the Manchu dynasty of conspiring with the Boxers. The imperial government and the patriotic bands suspected the foreign powers of planning the conquest of China.

Violence spread. The Japanese chancellor was killed. Foreign buildings in Peking were attacked. The German minister was killed. Then the Boxers attacked the compound that contained the foreign legations.

Brig. Gen. Ada R. Chaffee, fresh from a tour of duty in Cuba, received orders to report in person to the secretary of war. On June 26, 1900, the secretary informed him that he would command American forces to secure the relief of the legations and ordered him to proceed to San Francisco immediately. Even before Chaffee reached the west coast, the 9th Infantry Regiment had sailed from Manila for China. On arriving at San Francisco the general boarded transport *Grant* where he found the Presidio's Battery A, 3d Artillery, on board along with two squadrons of the 6th Cavalry that had arrived at the Recruit Depot two weeks earlier.[40]

In China the American "China Relief Expedition" consisted of four units from the Philippines: 9th and 14th Infantry, a battery of the 5th Artillery, a battalion of U.S. Marines, and support troops such as hospital corpsmen and engineers; and from the United States the 6th Cavalry. The American force numbered about 2,500 men. Other nations contributing troops were:

Japan	10,000
Russia	4,000
Great Britain	3,000
France	800
Germany	100
Austria and Italy[41]	100

The 9th Infantry reached the port of Taku on July 6, and along with the U.S. Marines fought in the battle for Tientsin [Tianjin] on July 13. Both the 14th Infantry from Manila and the 6th Cavalry from San Francisco reached Tientsin on July 30. The Allied forces reached Peking in August, the 14th Infantry entering the Tartar City. An American officer wrote: "It is our duty now to record a great disappointment: the British had preceded the Americans into the Legation grounds." The American troops suffered further casualties in the struggle for the Imperial and Forbidden cities. American casualties for the entire operation amounted to 33 killed and 209 wounded, Allied shelling having caused a few of these. Order being restored the American units, except the 9th Infantry, had departed for the Philippines by autumn. General Chaffee and the 9th Infantry (1,876 men) remained as a legation guard until 1901 when they too transferred to the Philippines.[42]

Chapter 10 Notes:

1. Frank Freidel, *The Splendid Little War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958), pp. 279–283; Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit* (Cambridge: Riverside, 1931), pp. 81, 148–150, and 254. En route to the Philippines, the first contingent of American troops annexed Spanish-held Guam, the southernmost of the Mariana Islands. The United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands that summer.

2. PSF, Post Returns 1898. While the artillery troops did not appear on the regular returns, no separate returns for them have been found.

3. Charles R. Detrick, *History of the Operations of the First Regiment of California U.S. Volunteer Infantry* (n.p., n.d.), p. 1, claimed that this regiment (men from the Bay Area) and the 7th California Infantry (men from southern California), arriving at the Presidio on April 7, were the first volunteers to report. They remained at the post for 16 days. Inasmuch as the war did not begin until later in April and President McKinley did not authorize volunteers for San Francisco until May 4, these two units are not considered to be a part of the expedition until later. The 1st California Infantry did serve in the Philippines. Their rallying song: "We're going to fight with Dewey in the land beyond the sea." Their yell:

> The Maine! The Maine!
> Remember the Maine!
> Cuba Libra!
> To Hell with Spain.

4. The camp was named after Wesley Merritt who graduated from West Point in 1860. Commissioned in the Dragoons he had a distinguished career during the Civil War, emerging a major general of volunteers. During the Indian Wars he served in the Cavalry. A brigadier general in 1887, he commanded several departments. In May 1898 he took command of the forces to be sent to the Philippines. His VIII Corps besieged Manila in July. Merritt served briefly as military governor of the Philippines. He retired in 1900 and died in 1910.

Ewell S. Otis, a graduate of the Harvard Law School, joined the Army as an enlisted man in 1861, the first year of the Civil War. Severely wounded at the battle for Petersburg, he mustered out in 1865 with the rank of colonel. In 1881 he founded a school at Fort Leavenworth that became the Command and General Staff College. A brigadier general in 1893, he became a major general of volunteers in 1898. In the Philippines he succeeded Merritt as military governor. Retiring in 1902, he died in 1909. McHenry, ed. *Webster's American Military Biographies*. Mike Radette, San Francisco, telecom to writer, August 23, 1995, provided information concerning Camp Merritt's boundaries.

5. W. D. B. Dodson, *Official History of the Operations of the Second Oregon Infantry*...(n.d., n.p.), p. 7.

> First contingent left San Francisco May 25, 158 officers, 2,386 men.
> Second contingent left San Francisco June 15, 158 officers, 3,404 men
> Third contingent left San Francisco June 27 – 29, 198 officers, 4,642 men, 34 civilians
> (clerks, newspaper correspondents, etc.)
> Fourth contingent left San Francisco July 15 – August 27, 172 officers, 4,720 men, 17 civilians
> Fifth contingent left San Francisco October 17 – November 10, 233 officers, 6,258 men
> Sixth contingent left San Francisco January 19 – May 30, 1899, 69 officers, 2,505 men, 3 civilians

Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, 1899), pp. 63–67.

6. Allen L. McDonald, *The Historical Record of the First Tennessee Infantry* (n.p., n.d.), p. 5; Anon., *History of the Operations of the First Nebraska Infantry* (n.p., n.d.), p. 6; M. E. Tew, *Official History of the Operations of the 13th Minnesota Infantry* (1899), p. 3; Alexander Laist, *Official History of the First Montana Infantry* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 4–5; Frank W. Medbery, *Official History of the Operations of the First South Dakota Infantry* (n.p., n.d.), p. 4.

7. J. I. Markey, *From Iowa to the Philippines, A History of Company M, Fifty-First Iowa Infantry Volunteers* (Red Oak, Iowa, 1900), pp. 58–67.

8. Frederick Funston, *Memoirs of Two Wars, Cuba and Philippine Experiences* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), pp. 158–166. Funston, then 33, dedicated this book to the little boy who sleeps forever in the national ceme-

tery of the PSF, his infant son. Another officer, in the 1st Montana Infantry, said of the uniforms, the blue turned to purple and the trousers a glaring horrible green.

9. William L. Luhn, *Official History of the Operations of the First Washington Infantry* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 4–5.

10. Markey, *From Iowa to the Philippines*, pp. 86–95, 102, and 108–116; Arthur McDonald, *First Tennessee Infantry*, p. 49.

11. PSF Post Returns 1898; Miller, October 10, 1898, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

12. PSF Post Returns 1899; Charles F. Baker, compiler, *A History of the 30th Infantry U.S. Volunteers, in the Philippine Insurrection, 1899–1901* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 38 and 58. Chaplain Allensworth's army career is briefly described in Earl F. Stover, *Up From Handyman, The United States Army Chaplaincy, 1865–1920* (Washington, 1977), p. 53 and more thoroughly in John P. Langellier and Alan M. Osur, "Chaplain Allen Allensworth and the 24th Infantry, 1886–1906," *The Smoke Signal*, Fall 1980, Tucson Corral of Westerners. Shafter had returned from Cuba in January 1899.

13. *Annual Report, Secretary of War*, 1899, p. 269.

14. The Sibley tent was invented by Maj. Henry Sibley. It was conical, light, easily pitched, and erected on a tripod holding a single pole. It accommodated 12 soldiers. Wilhelm, *A Military Dictionary*, p. 578.

Several other governors greeted their troops. The governor of Colorado, Charles Thomas, wrote Secretary of War Elihu Root praising the efficiency and promptness of the Department of the Pacific and the organization and sanitation of the Model Camp. Thomas, August 24, 1899, to Root, William R. Shafter Papers, Stanford University.

15. Markey, *From Iowa to the Philippines*, pp. 287–289; James Camp, *Official History of the First Idaho Infantry*...(n.p., n.d.), p. 27; Adam S. Mischel, "'Young and Adventurous,' The Journal of a North Dakota Volunteer." Edited by James F. Vivian, *North Dakota History*, 60:2–11; Tew, *History of the 13th Minnesota*, pp. 42–43; Dodson, *History of the 2d Oregon*, p. 60; Laist, *History of the 1st Montana*, pp. 33–35; Anon., *History of the 1st Nebraska*, p. 40; Detrick, *History of the 1st California*, pp. 29–30; Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali*, p. 346.

16 *The Army Almanac*, pp. 499, 542–547, and 697–698; Millis, *The Martial Spirit*, pp. 371–398 and 404–408; Dupuy, *Military Biography*, p. 16. Following his capture Aguinaldo took the oath of allegiance to the United States and retired from public life. During World War II he sided with the occupying Japanese forces. Aguinaldo became a member of the Philippine council of state in 1950. He died in 1964.

17. PSF, Miscellaneous Returns 1898–1915. The Presidio's regular garrison that month: 27 officers, 817 enlisted men.

18. PSF, Special Orders 47, March 24, 1899, Special Orders 1898–1899; Surgeon, Post Hospital, May 23, 1899, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

19. C. E. Compton, May 12, 1899, to Department of California; F. Harris, March 13, 1899, to post surgeon, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

20. Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali*, p. 346. Jocelyn and his wife lived at the Occidental Hotel.

21. Eskridge, February 7 and 17, 1900, to Department of California; PSF General Orders 13, April 30, 1900, General Orders 1898–1903, RG 393, NA. At this time small numbers of troops also left for Hawaii and Alaska.

22. Eskridge, March 22, 1900, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

23. *Annual Report, Secretary of War, 1900*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 239.

24. PSF Post Returns, 1898–1901; Post quartermaster, June 13, 1901, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA. The 30th Infantry was constituted as of February 2, 1901, at Fort Logan, Colorado, the PSF, and the Philippines. Mahon and Danysh, *Infantry*, p. 531.

25. Corbin, October 14, 1901, to Young; Young, October 18, 1901, to Corbin; W. H. Carter, October 24, 1901, to Young, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA. The discharge camp established on Angel Island is thoroughly described in John P. Finley, "Discharging a Philippine Army," *Sunset* 9 (September 1902): 293–308; 9 (October 1902): 373–384; 10 (November 1902): 15–25; and 10 (December 1902): 116–126. Finley was a captain in the 9th U.S. Infantry.

26. PSF Post Returns 1902; Adjutant, Casual Detachment, December 24, 1901; to commanding officer, PSF; Rawles, April 24, 1902, to Department of California, Register of Letters Received RG 393; Quartermaster, Motel Camps, March 29, 1902, to Department of California, General Correspondence, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

27. Coolidge, May 10, 1902, to commanding officer, PSF; Rawles, May 10, 1902, to Department of California, Register of Letters Received; E. Miller, May 16, 1902, to Coolidge, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

28. Hughes, May 27, 1902, to adjutant general, U.S. Army, General Correspondence 1890–1914; OQMG, RG 92; Morris, December 13, 1903, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA. A 1907 map showed 24 structures in the barracks area, 16 on officers' row, and 14 in the administrative area of the eastern portion of the camp. In the western area: 15 structures on officers' row, 31 in the barracks area, and 11 in a separate row of married men's quarters.

29. Coolidge, August 25 and November 23, 1902, to adjutant general, U.S. Army, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA. The camp acquired a "regimental-type" post exchange.

30. Coolidge, October 24, 1902, to Department of California; Morris, November 11, 1903, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA; Infantry Cantonment, Post Returns 1902–1903. The 19th Infantry transferred to Vancouver Barracks in July 1902. The 7th Infantry left in October 1903 for Manila. The 10th Infantry arrived at the cantonment from the Philippines in September 1903.

31. Nobel, December 10, 1903, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

32. Summary sheets of contracts, 1903–1904, CCF; Confidential Memorandum for the quartermaster general, March 4, 1903, General Correspondence 1890–1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

33. Nobel, November 21, 1903 and May 18, 1904, to Pacific Division, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

34. Coolidge, January 23 and 24, 1903, to post quartermaster; Nobel, December 4, 1903, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

35. Infantry Cantonment Post Returns 1904. In the 1901 expansion of the Army a regiment of Philippine Scouts became a part of the U.S. military establishment. These men served honorably until Philippine independence. Weigley, *United States Army*, p. 318.

36. Adjutant, 10th Infantry, May 7, 1904, to adjutant general, Washington, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

37. Nobel, May 19, 1904, to Department of California; J. Bayliss, May 30, 1904, to commanding officer, 28th Infantry, Letters Sent; General Orders 24, July 3, 1904, General Orders, 1904–1905, RG 393, NA.

38. General Orders 45, November 11, 1904, Orders and Circulars 1904–1905; C. A. Williams, November 12, 1904, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

39. PSF Post Returns 1905. Buildings 563, 569, and 572 were barracks. Building 567 probably was a mess hall. Building records state that 567 was not built until 1908.

40. Battery A had transferred to the Presidio from Angel Island a month earlier. Two of the 6th Cavalry troops, F and G, had been stationed at the Presidio since April 1900. Neither troop joined Chaffee's command, although it is apparent that some of its members did. The ship sailed on July 1. In April 1900 the strength of the two troops stood at five officers and 195 enlisted men. By August they mustered one officer and 32 men. PSF Post Returns 1900; G. Nye Steiger, *A History of the Far East* (Boston: Ginn, 1944), pp. 687–693; William Harding Carter, *The Life of Lieutenant General Chaffee* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917), p. 175.

41. Different sources gave different figures for the Americans, ranging from 2,000 to 2,500. Peter Fleming, *The Siege of Peking* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), p. 182. Fleming called the International Relief Force "Operation Babel" and concluded that the total strength was closer to 17,000. An additional American force sailed from San Francisco for China but was diverted to the Philippines when it reached Japan. *Annual Report, Secretary of War, 1900*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 11–12.

42. A. S. Daggett, *America in the China Relief Expedition* (Kansas City: Hudson-Kimberly, 1903), pp. 27–55, 64–91, 106, and 135. Troops F and G at the Presidio also left for Manila, March 1901.

The U.S. Government awarded 60 Medals of Honor to the China Relief Expedition. Four of these went to Army men:

Capt. Andre W. Brewster, 9th Infantry, Tientsin, China, July 13, 1900
1st Lt. Louis B. Lawton, 9th Infantry, Tientsin, China, July 13, 1900
Musician Calvin Pearl Titus, Company E, 14th Infantry, Peking, China, April [August] 14, 1900
Pvt. Robert H. Van Schlick, Company C, 9th Infantry, Tientsin, China, July 13, 1900
(Entered service at San Francisco, California)

U.S. Senate, *Medal of Honor*, pp. 391–400.